Dynastic Lycia

A Political History of the Lycians & Their Relations with Foreign Powers, c. 545-362 BC

by

Antony G. Keen

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ANTONY G. KEEN

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PREFACE

The current work is the first book-length study in English of the history of Lycia in the Achaemenid Persian (or 'epichoric'/'Dynastic') period, the time of its most famous monuments. Though a number of treatments of the political history have appeared in recent years (Akşit 1967: 112-21; Bean 1978: 24-25; Childs 1981: 58-78; Bryce 1986: 99-114; Frei 1990a: 9-11; Kolb, Kupke 1992: 11-20; Bryce 1995: 1162-64), these have usually been either part of works dealing with a much broader span, or the work of scholars whose primary interests do not lie in the field of political history and have included such material in order to provide a context for the main focus of their work (be it archaeological, art-historical or linguistic); as a result, none of these studies have been particularly extensive; the last truly extensive treatment of the period remains that in Treuber's *Geschichte der Lykier* (1887). The current work intends to rectify this, by drawing together all available evidence (literary, archaeological, epigraphic and numismatic), and examining it in much more thorough detail than has been previously attempted.

The first four synchronic chapters deal with general aspects of the Lycian political set-up. The remaining nine chapters take the reader through a detailed examination of the history. This provides a historical framework into which new data can be accommodated, and moves towards as definitive a political history of Lycia in the Achaemenid period as the paucity of the sources allows one to create. At the same time Lycia is placed in its correct context in relation to the other states of the ancient world; because of the Lycians' strategically-important location between the Aegean and the eastern Mediterranean, major reassessments are provided for understanding the interaction of Persia and the Greek world.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This volume is based upon my Ph.D. thesis, submitted to the University of Manchester in 1992. Many scholars have given freely of their time and energy to discuss matters arising from my research and to grant me practical assistance in its pursuit, sadly more than I have space to mention here; my apologies to those I have omitted.

The British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara provided me with funds to make two journeys to Lycia, and Prof. Dr C. Bayburtluoğlu, Prof. Dr J. Borchhardt, Prof. Dr F. Kolb, Prof. C. Le Roy and Dr C. Pulak and their teams provided me with the hospitality at their archaeological excavations; Prof. Borchhardt also kindly invited me to deliver a paper at the II. Internationales Lykien-Symposion in Vienna in May 1990. Prof. Trevor Bryce has been a source of encouragement, and kindly allowed me to quote from his own unpublished doctoral thesis. I am grateful to the editor of *Anatolian Studies*, the Österreichishen Akademie für Wissenschaft and the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies for permission to reprint in revised form the material originally published as Keen 1992, 1993a and 1993b. A particular debt is also owed to my examiners, Dr Christopher Tuplin and Prof. David Whitehead, the latter of whom has subsequently allowed me to pursue matters Lycian on behalf of the Copenhagen Polis Centre; the indulgence in this matter of the Director of the Centre, Prof. Mogens Herman Hansen, is also gratefully acknowledged. My former tutor at Edinburgh, Geoffrey Lewis, set me on the road that led eventually to Lycia. Dr Tony Taylor and Anthony Kirby proofread portions of the manuscript. Thanks are also due to the many staff at E.J. Brill for their continued interest and patience over the years.

The largest debt is owed to my friend and supervisor, Dr Steven Hodkinson, who has been constantly helpful and supportive during my years of research, and made a great number of helpful suggestions and corrections for the text.

I have also made use of two valuable tools in this work, so often that it would be otiose to cite them at every instance; these are the "Registers of Literary References to Lycia" in Bryce's work (1986: 216-53), and Karte 15.2 of the *TAVO* prepared by Mag. K. Buschmann.

Belfast/Manchester
1997

Antony Keen

A NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION AND NOMENCLATURE

Whilst complete consistency in the rendering of ancient names into English is all but impossible, an attempt has been made to adhere to the following general rules. Lycian personal names are given in their Lycian version where known (e.g. Kheriga rather than Gergis). An exceptions is the dynast Kybernis, whose Lycian name was probably Kuprlli but who is referred to by his Greek name to avoid confusion with the later dynast Kuprlli. Where there are variant forms of a Lycian name, the most common is used.[1] The Lycian letter is transliterated as *kh* rather than χ (e.g. Kherẽi is found rather than Xerẽi),[2] except where the name itself rather than the person concerned is being referred to; in these cases the word appears in italics. Greek personal names are given in a direct transliteration of the Greek original (reading *y* for υ and *k* for κ; e.g. Themistokles rather than Themistocles) except where there is an Anglicized or Latinized version in such common use that not to employ it would cause confusion (e.g. Alexander rather than Alexandros); all ancient authors are treated in this manner. Persian and other (non-Lycian) Anatolian personal names are given in their Greek form. Place names of cities conform to the same rules as Greek personal names (e.g. Xanthos rather than Xanthus, but Athens rather than Athenai); larger geographic areas are referred to by their Anglicized or Latinized names (e.g. Lycia rather than Lykia). For the sake of consistency, Lycian cities are always referred to by their Greek name, even where a Lycian name is known; however, that Greek name is given in the form in use in the sixth, fifth and fourth centuries rather than in a form which became common later (so Telemessos rather than Telmessos).

All three-digit dates are B.C., except where indicated. Abbreviations of ancient sources follow the patterns found in *OCD*², except in the case of some Greek authors not given abbreviations there, where the abbreviations are those of LSJ. Epigraphic publications are abbreviated according to *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graceum*.

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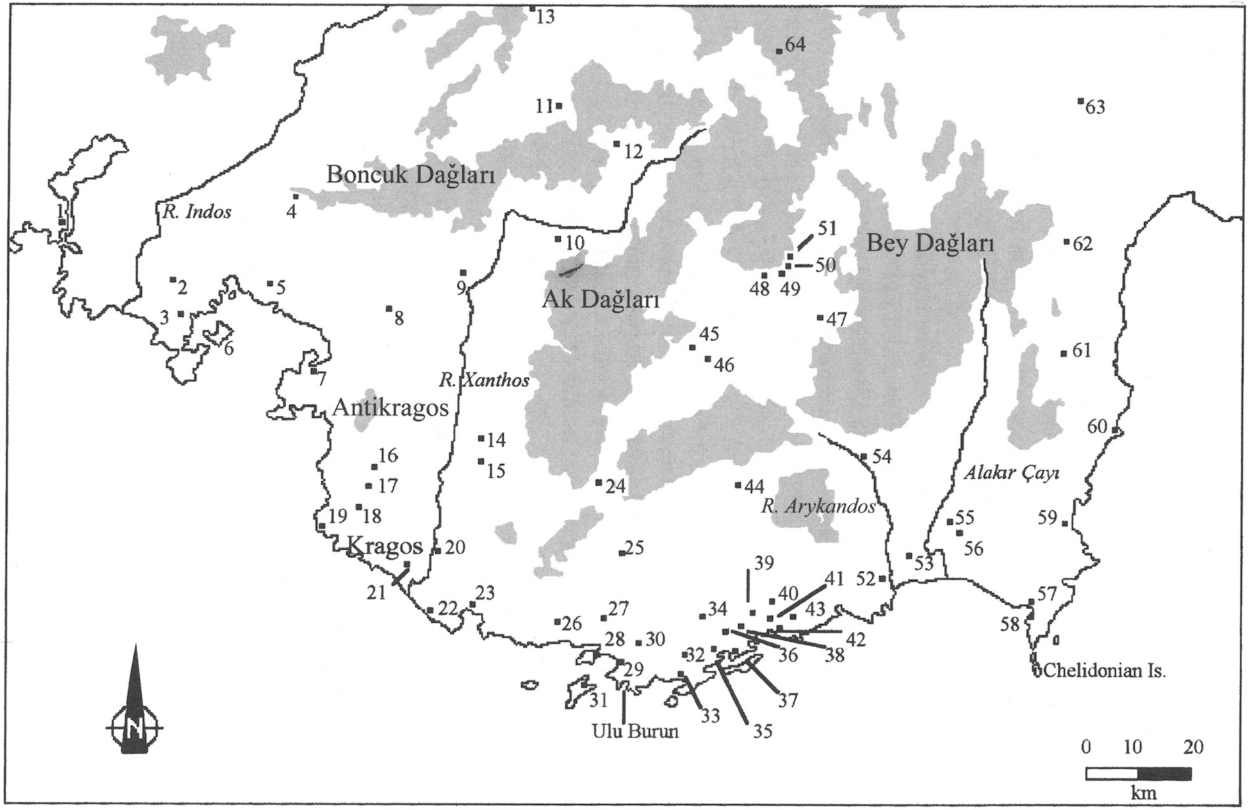
[1] As found in Melchert 1993a.

[2] In earlier editions of Lycian texts, was transliterated as *k*, and as *c*, but modern convention is to render them as *kh* and *k*.


Boncuk Dağları
R. Indos
Ak Dağları
Bey Dağları
R. Xanthos
Antikragos
Kragos
R. Arykandos
Alakır Çayı
Ulu Burun
Chelidonian Is.
0 10 20
km

Lycia (land over 1500m shaded)

(Where a Lycian name for the site is known, it is added in brackets)[1]

1. Kaunos (*Xbide*).
2. Kalynda.
3. Krya.
4. Telandros?
5. Daidala.
6. Telandria?
7. Telemessos (*Telebehi*).
8. Kadyanda (*Xadawãti*).
9. Araxa (*Araththi*).
10. Oinoanda.
11. Boubon.
12. Balboura.
13. Kibyra.
14. Tlos (*Tlawa*).
15. Arsada.
16. Pinara (*Pinale*).
17. Yakabağ (modern name).
18. Sidyma.
19. Hiera by Sidyma?
20. Xanthos (*Arñna*).
21. Letoön.
22. Patara (*Pttara*).
23. Phoenicus.
24. Neisa.
25. Kandyba.
26. Seroiata.
27. Phellos (*Wehñte*).
28. Antiphellos.
29. Sebeda.
30. Isinda (*Isñte*).
31. Megiste.
32. Apollonia.
33. Aperlai (*Aprlla*).
34. Kyaneai (*Xbane*).
35. Teimiousa.
36. Tyberissos (*Tuburehi*).
37. Simena.
38. Hoyran (modern name).
39. Trysa (*Truse*).
40. Trebendai.
41. Sura (*Sura*).
42. Andriake.
43. Myra.
44. Arneai.
45. Kızılca (modern name).
46. Choma.
47. Podalia.
48. Kızıbel (modern name).
49. Elmalı (modern name).
50. Bayındır (modern name).
51. Karaburun (modern name).
52. Phoinike.
53. Limyra (*Zẽmure*).
54. Arykanda.
55. Rhodiapolis.
56. Korydalla.
57. Gagai.
58. Melanippion.
59. Olympos.
60. Phaselis.
61. Marmara.
62. Çandır.
63. Termessos.
64. Lagbe/Lagina.

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[1] For Lycian names here cited, see Melchert 1993a.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND SOURCES

The Lycians in the Classical and post-Classical tradition

> No territory of Anatolia, no autochthonous region of Asia Minor apart from the Troad, was so closely connected with Greece in mythology as Lycia. Its magnificent scenery, with mountains rising to heights of over 10,000 feet (3000 metres), with its lakes, woods and forests, its rocky coast indented with creeks and sprinkled with islands, its superb ruins of two dozen cities, could hardly reflect more splendidly, even today, the ancient link that held them together.[1]

The Lycians are amongst the most enigmatic peoples of antiquity. There can be few nations of the ancient world of whom so much is spoken, yet so little fully understood. Few scholars of antiquity will not come across the Lycians at one point or another. In the nineteenth century, Lycia was seen primarily as part of the Greek world (hence the coins held by the British Museum are published as Greek coins,[2] and the sculpture recovered from Xanthos is held by the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities), though Sir Charles Fellows, who had come principally in search of Greek cities,[3] already perceived the Lycians as a race apart.[4] In more recent times, the Lycians have tended to be seen as a part of the Near East, and there often seems a perception amongst Greek historians that Lycian affairs were merely tangential to events in the Aegean.[5]

In fact, the Lycians were an important part of both the Greek and the Near Eastern worlds, since they lived at the point where the two cultures intermingled, and at an important strategic juncture between east and west (pp. 31-33). The Lycian culture was neither exclusively Hellenized, nor exclusively Oriental, but a mixture of both, with a number of elements that were entirely Lycian. For this reason, if for no other, they are worthy of study.

The Greek goddess Leto was supposed to have fled to Lycia after giving

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[1] Brewster 1993: 57.

[2] Hill 1897.

[3] Norman 1988: 102.

[4] Note the quotes from Fellows' journals (Fellows 1839: 228-29 [= Fellows 1852: 170]; Fellows 1852: 335) at Norman 1988: 114, 121.

[5] A notable exception to this is Hornblower 1982.

birth to Apollo and Artemis. The earliest extant reference to this is in the second-century A.D. writer Antoninus Liberalis (*Met.* 35.1), but he cites the fourth-century writer Menecrates of Xanthos (F 2.1; p. 5). Another legend would have Apollo and Artemis actually born in Lycia (p. 197). Homer describes Apollo as *Lykêgenês* (*Il.* 4.101, 119), possibly to be interpreted as 'born in Lycia' (p. 198), and the association of Apollo with Lycia was known to Bacchylides (12.147-48) and Sophocles; the latter also associates Artemis with Lycia (*OT* 202-08).[6]

The Lycians and their leaders are mentioned repeatedly in the *Iliad*,[7] in passages much studied for other purposes,[8] where they are the most prominent and fiercest of the allies of Troy—ironic when they were furthest-removed of Troy's supporters.[9] Homer also links Lycia, possibly for the first time, with the myth of Bellerophon (6.155-97; pp. 210-11). Later, Proiteus is stated to have regained his throne of Tiryns with the help of troops supplied by his Lycian father (Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.2.1), whilst Strabo (8.6.11 [373]) says that the Cyclopes who built Tiryns' walls came from Lycia.[10]

The earliest historical reference to the Lycians is probably to be found in the Late Bronze Age. In numerous records (Hittite and others) references are found to an ethnic grouping called the Lukka who seem to have lived somewhere in south-western Anatolia. Archaeological evidence for this period in Lycia itself is, however, generally lacking, and it is not until the early centuries of the first millennium that significant physical remains are found (p. 28). But if it is correct that the Lukka were the ancestors of the Lycians (p. 26) then it seems the people whom Homer sought to honour[11] were genuinely important in the Aegean Bronze Age.

Nevertheless, in the Classical period the Lycians were becoming highly Hellenized,[12] and beginning to be perceived as such by Greeks, though the historian Ephorus (F 162 *ap.* Str. 14.5.23 [678]) and Menander (*Aspis* 23-26) in the fourth century may still list the Lycians amongst the 'barbarian' peoples (pp. 22-23). Many of the most famous 'Greek' monuments in the possession of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities of the Brit-

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[6] For a full discussion of this matter, see pp. 197-200.

[7] E.g. Hom. *Il.* 2.876-77; 5.628-98; 6.119-236; 7.13-16; 8.173; 9.286; 12.101-04, 307-471; 13.150; 14.426; 15.485-86; 16.419-683; 17.140-287; references are given by Bryce 1986: 220-21, though they need some correction. On Homer and the Lycians, see now Mellink 1995a: 33-34.

[8] Note e.g. the selection of *Il.* 12.307-30 as an important source passage in Crawford, Whitehead 1983: 36-37 no. 5A.

[9] Bryce 1995: 1161.

[10] See Graves 1960: I, 31 n. 1. The legend appears to be alluded to on Lycian coinage, of an uncertain dynast (Babelon 1907), of Ẽkuwemi (Babelon 1907: 189-92) and of Mutlẽi (Babelon 1907: 191-94).

[11] Hiller 1993: 110.

[12] Bryce 1986: 203; Brewster 1993: 59-60.

ish Museum (e.g. the 'Harpy Tomb', 'Pajawa Sarcophagus' and 'Nereid Monument') originate from Lycia, the result of commissions from Lycian kings or other personages of importance; the Nereid Monument, in particular, is often used as an example of Greek culture of the fourth century,[13] but belongs in fact to a Graeco-Lycian tradition. The Lycians also had a reputation at this time for metal-working, an art which can now barely be traced (p. 70).

In Roman times, Xanthos, the capital of Lycia, was the scene of a famous show of resistance to Caesar's assassin Brutus (App. *B Civ.* 4.10.76-80; Dio Cass. 47.34.1-3; Plut. *Brut.* 30-31), and Lycia was the last of the Hellenistic states to be incorporated into the Roman empire. And to demonstrate that the lives of the ancient inhabitants of Lycia continue to have ramifications in the Christian era, St. Nicholas, better known as Santa Claus, was born in the Lycian city of Patara and was bishop in neighbouring Myra.[14]

Modern study of the Lycians began with the publication by Captain (later Admiral) Francis Beaufort of his survey of the Lycian coast and the antiquities he saw there,[15] but the most important work done on Classical Lycia in the nineteenth century was that of Charles (later Sir Charles) Fellows, who in 1838 and 1840 ventured inland to the cities of the Xanthos valley, in some cases being the first westerner to see them since they had been abandoned in late antiquity,[16] and later, in two expeditions in 1841-1842 and 1843-1844, supervised the removal of many of the finest examples of the sculptured monuments to the British Museum.[17] This established Lycia in the popular imagination of the time; from 1848 to 1878 there was a 'Lycian Room' in the Museum. Fellows' work was followed by a number of surveys, many carried out under Austrian auspices.[18] There then ensued a tailing-off of academic investigation in the early decades of this century, with the concentration being on a few now not very useful linguistic studies.[19]

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[13] Note, for example, its appearance on the cover of Hornblower 1991a.

[14] Bean 1978: 125.

[15] Beaufort 1818.

[16] The account of his journeys is Fellows 1839; 1841; see further the bibliography *s.v.* 'Fellows'. Continuing recognition of the importance of Fellows' work is shown by his inclusion in a recent popular volume on archaeological pioneers (Norman 1988: 101-30). Now on Fellows' Lycian investigations, see Slatter 1994.

[17] Fellows 1843.

[18] E.g. those published as Benndorf 1882, Benndorf, Niemann 1884 and 1889, Petersen, von Luschan 1889 and Benndorf 1892, and Heberdey and Kalinka's work, that resulted in Heberdey, Kalinka 1897, Heberdey 1898 and Kalinka 1898, and eventually the publication of the inscriptions of the region as *TAM* i-iii. For other examples of nineteenth-century general work on Lycia, see Spratt, Forbes 1847; Texier 1849; Ross 1850; Le Bas 1870; Davis 1874; von Warsberg 1884; Hirschfeld 1885; Ramsay 1888; 1890.

[19] E.g. Sundwall 1913.

The first sign of a resurgence of interest was the publication of Akurgal's work on the sixth-century reliefs in 1941,[20] but Lycian studies properly got going again in the 1950s, when a French team began the excavation of Xanthos.[21] This work has reached a peak in the last two decades, with archaeological work at a number of sites[22] (currently, as well at the French excavating Xanthos and its associated sanctuary, the Letoön, there is an Austrian team working at Limyra, that regularly produces monographs on Lycian matters,[23] a German team at Kyaneai and its associated territory,[24] and a Turkish team at Arykanda),[25] two international conferences on Lycia, in Paris in 1979 and Vienna in 1990,[26] the publication of Bean's guide to the archaeological sites,[27] Neumann's collection of Lycian inscriptions discovered this century (N), and the first volume of a major work intending to encompass all aspects of Lycian culture.[28]

The nature of the evidence

The evidence for Lycian history is extremely patchy. There are mentions of Lycia in ancient literary sources, but they are often no more than a brief reference.[29] Though a number of the surviving ancient geographers do touch upon Lycia (p. 6), nothing as detailed as Pausanias' *Guide to Greece* exists.

A number of authors wrote books on Lycia, but for the most part these works seem to have been geographic in nature. Cornelius Alexander Polyhistor (second or first century) wrote a *Λυκιακά* or *περὶ Λυκίας* in two books (F 48-64) and a *Λυκίας Περίπλους* (F 65-67); Polycharmus (F 1-5, second century?) and Leon of Alabanda (F 1-3, imperial period?) each wrote a *Lykiaka* in two books.

Very few known writers were actually native Lycians. There are refer-

20 Akurgal 1941.

21 Excavations published in the volumes of *FdX* (Demargne 1958; Metzger 1963; etc.).

22 I have omitted archaeological work on sites where the material is entirely outside the bounds of the current work, such as the British field survey of Balboura (for preliminary reports, see Coulton 1987; 1988; Coulton *et al.* 1988; Coulton 1989a & b; Coulton *et al.* 1989; Coulton 1991; 1992; 1993b; Hallet, Coulton 1993).

23 See especially the works of Borchhardt cited in the bibliography. The most recent publication from the Limyra team is Marksteiner 1997, of which I have not been able to take full account.

24 See Kolb 1990; Kolb *et al.* 1990; Kolb, Kupke 1992; Kolb 1993b; Kupke 1993; and especially Kolb 1991; 1993a; 1995.

25 See e.g. Bayburtluoğlu 1993.

26 Proceedings published as Metzger 1980a and Borchhardt, Dobesch 1993 respectively.

27 Bean 1978, now sadly somewhat outdated by more recent archaeological work; see the review of the recent reissue in Keen 1991a.

28 Bryce 1986.

29 For a collection of references, though he has some omissions, see Bryce 1986: 216-52.

ences to a poet, Olen, who composed hymns sung on Delos.[30] He is alternatively described as Lycian, Dymaean or Hyperborean (*Suda* ω 71 *s.v.* Ὠλήν);[31] the entry in the *Suda* favours Lycian, citing Callimachus, who actually says that Olen came from Xanthos,[32] and Alexander Polyhistor (F 64). Pausanias (9.27.2) calls him the oldest of the Greek hymn-composers, but he remains a shadowy figure.[33] Although Herodotus (4.35.3) speaks of a hymn to the Hyperborean women Hyperoche and Laodike, Callimachus of a 'song of the Lycian old man', and Pausanias had seen hymns to Hera, Achaea and Eileithuia attributed to Olen, no fragments survive.

A more solid individual is Capiton of Lycia, living in the late fifth or early sixth century A.D., who wrote a work *About Lycia and Pamphylia* (*περὶ Λυκίας καὶ Παμφυλίας*, *Suda* κ 342 *s.v.* Καπίτων, Λυκίος). Only one or two possible fragments survive, however; even in antiquity more attention was given to his other work, the eight-book *Ἰσαυρικά*, which was epitomized by Eutropius (though the epitome no longer survives). From the fragments that survive of Capiton, it appears that he too was a geographic writer (although the *Suda* calls him a ἱστορικός).

The best-known Lycian writer[34] is Menecrates of Xanthos, who lived in the fourth century and wrote a *Lykiaka* in two books, but even this is known from a mere five fragments, of which only two are of any length (F 2, 3). The emphasis of this seems to have been upon the mythological past of the Lycians.[35] Phaselis produced a fourth-century tragedian, Theodectas, whose epitaph at Athens is recorded by Stephanus (660.11 = *TrGF* 72 T 1).

One work that would be informative would be the *Constitution of the Lycians* or *Λυκίων Πολιτεία* that was amongst the one hundred and fifty-eight *Politeiai* in the Aristotelian corpus (Arist. fr. 548*bis* Rose = Phot. *Bibl.* 161 105a, Heraclid. Lemb. 43). It is interesting to know that such a document once existed; but nothing more is known of it beyond the title. One cannot even conclude from its existence that a single constitution of Lycia could be identified in the fourth century and therefore that in the eyes of Aristotle (or whoever wrote the work[36]) Lycia formed a unified

---

[30] Hdt. 4.35.3; Callim. *Hymn* 4.304-05; Alex. Polyh. F 64; Paus. 1.18.5, 2.13.3, 5.7.8, 8.21.3, 9.27.2, 10.5.4; *Suda* ω 71 *s.v.* Ὠλήν.

[31] At 10.5.4 Pausanias gives him a Hyperborean origin, but elsewhere (8.21.3, 5.7.8) calls him a Lycian.

[32] *Hymn* 4.305-05:

> οἱ μὲν ὑπαείδουσι νόμον Λυκίοιο γέροντος,
> ὅν τοι ἀπὸ Ξάνθοιο θεοπρόπος ἤγαγεν Ὠλήν·
>
> The men sing the song of the old man of Lycia—the very song which the seer Olen brought thee from Xanthos. (Tr. A.W. Mair in Mair, Mair 1921: 109.)

[33] Treuber 1887: 76-77; Bryce 1986: 208.

[34] Though Bryce 1986: 208 suggests that he was a Greek immigrant.

[35] For a speculative discussion, see Asheri 1983: 125-66; Bryce 1986: 208.

[36] For a discussion of this question see Rhodes 1981: 58-63.

state. For whilst it is certainly true that such a state was treated in the *Politeia of the Thessalians* or the *Politeia of the Arkadians*, and probably also in the *Politeia of the Bottiaians*, it is almost certainly not the case in the *Politeia of the Cyprians* (*Κυπρίων Πολιτεία*), as there is no evidence for such a common political structure in Cyprus,[37] nor in the *Politeia of the Cretans* (*Κρητική Πολιτεία*). The general belief is that the individual Cypriot and Cretan *poleis* were sufficiently similar in their constitutions that they could be treated in the one work.[38] The *Lykiôn Politeia*'s existence, however, does imply something about the Aristotelian attitude towards the Lycians; for Hansen has pointed out that wholly barbarian communities were not treated amongst the *politeiai*.[39]

For the most part one must turn to brief notes and allusions in Greek and Roman writers. Besides Homer (p. 2), Alcman, who had probably never been to Lycia, compared the hair of a Spartan girl to the yellow streams of the Xanthos river, and her song with that of a swan from there (fr. 1.100-01).[40] The Lycians and their culture were well enough known to be casually mentioned by Aeschylus (*Supp.* 869-70)[41] and Aristotle (*Hist. an.* 548b, 605b).[42] Aristophanes is said to have written a *Telemessians* (*PCG* IV.2 fr. 543-55);[43] however, whilst this could be Lycian Telemessos,[44] as Stephanus of Byzantium seems to have thought (612.15 *s.v.* Τελμισσός) it is perhaps more likely that the Körtes are correct when they suggest that it is Carian Telemessos,[45] especially given the references to divination contained therein (Hsch. π 4340 *s.v.* πύλαι = Ar. fr. 554).[46] Then, of course, there are the geographers, such as the fourth-century *Periplous* attributed to Scylax of Caryanda (100), Strabo in the first century (14.3.2-10 [664-67]) and Pliny the Elder in the first century A.D. (*HN*

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[37] *Politeia of the Arkadians*: cf. Harp. *s.v.* μύριοι: ... Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῇ κοινῇ Ἀρκά-δων πολιτείᾳ ...; *Politeia of the Bottiaians*: Flensted-Jensen 1995: 126-27. *Κυπρίων Πολιτεία*: Mørkholm, Zahle 1972: 113.

[38] Perlman 1992 believes a Cretan constitution to have been a fourth-century invention.

[39] See Hansen 1996b.

[40] Campbell 1988: 546, believes that the Trojan Xanthos is intended, but Stark 1956: 118 assumes that is the Lycian river.

[41] On this reference, to the Tomb of Sarpedon, see Keen 1996b: 286-88. Aeschylus also wrote a play, *The Carians* or *Europa*, in which Sarpedon's death and burial formed the central part of the action (*TrGF* III pp. 217-22); see Keen (forthcoming [b]).

[42] Note also Eur. fr. 1102 Nauck; Aristid. 277 Jebb.

[43] The title is variously rendered in the testimonia as *Τελμησεῖς* (Aristid. *Or.* 47.16), *Τελεμισσεῖς* (Steph. Byz. 612.16 *s.v.* Τελμισσός), *Τελμισσεῖς* (Poll. 6.83, 10.72, 80, 82) or *Τελμισεῖς* (*Proleg. de com.* XXX[a] Kost.); given the other evidence for the orthography of the place-name Telemessos at this period, it is most likely that Aristophanes himself wrote *Τελεμησσῆς*.

[44] Telemessos is the contemporary spelling for the city better known (e.g. Bean 1978: 38-41) as Telmessos.

[45] Körte, Körte 1904: 13.

[46] References to divination belong with Carian Telemessos; see Harvey 1991.

5.28.100-01).

Caution must be exercised, as some of these writers may never have been to Lycia. Pliny, who places Pinara and Telemessos adjacent to one another on the bay of the Glaukos (*HN* 5.28.101) when they are on opposite sides of Mt. Antikragos, almost certainly had no first-hand knowledge. Strabo, on the other hand, of whom Pliny seems unaware,[47] clearly was familiar with south-western Anatolia, as can be discerned if one travels along the coast with a copy of his work to consult. For instance, when recording an east to west journey along the Loryma peninsula (14.2.4 [652]), he records Mt. Phoinix (modern Kavadağ) before the island of Elaioussa (modern Çatal Adası), which seems odd as the island is some distance east of the mountain. When one repeats his journey, however, it becomes clear that the mountain will be spotted by the traveller long before the island is. It may be, of course, that he is simply repeating what he found in his source, who is possibly Eratosthenes,[48] but even so the original information is probably sound.[49]

Herodotus, born in neighbouring Halikarnassos, is a problematic case, as one might expect him to be familiar with Lycia. But his story of Lycian matronymics has all the look of a travellers' tale, and he too may never have visited Lycia; there is certainly no proof that he did.[50] Similarly it seems unlikely that Thucydides had even been. Nonetheless, these snippets, of which one of the longest is Herodotus' account of the Lycians' origins, make up the bulk of the literary evidence. As a result, some matters of importance have slipped through; Myra, an important city with around ninety-nine epichoric-period tombs (the second highest number of the cities of Lycia), is totally absent from the literary record before being mentioned in the second century by Artemidorus (quoted by Str. 14.3.3 [665]).[51]

The epigraphic corpus is also partially deficient; some of the most important inscriptions are often fragmentary, sometimes to the point of being almost completely obscure. The Lycians left a large number of inscriptions (172) in their language,[52] which used a unique alphabet (though adapted from Greek).[53] Understanding of Lycian is imperfect.[54] The main gram-

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47 Howatson, Chilvers 1993: 511 *s.v.* 'Strabo'.

48 Though this does not seem likely to be the sort of material derived from the bematists of Alexander (on whom see Bosworth 1996).

49 But see Mitchell 1993; Syme 1995: 50.

50 *Contra* Shahbazi 1975: 44; Fehling 1989: 240-43 suggests that Herodotus may never have made any journeys apart from that from Halikarnassos to Athens.

51 Zahle 1980: 45.

52 Those found up to 1978 are published in *TAM* i and N.

53 Houwink ten Cate 1961: 3 n. 4; Neumann 1969: 367, 371. Possibly Lycian was originally hieroglyphic, as Luwian was. Tritsch 1968: 134-35 argues that the secret signs Anteia uses to write to her Lycian father (Hom. *Il.* 6.168-70) are a reference to the Lycian alphabet; another

matical elements are now largely identified and understood from the similarity to Luwian;[55] current knowledge of vocabulary, however, is a major problem.[56] Another language is attested in two inscriptions (*TAM* i 44, 55), which is clearly a variation of Lycian.[57] This language is sometimes called 'Milyan',[58] but more helpfully 'Lycian B'; so far it resists attempts to decode it.[59]

Most of the inscriptions that survive are formulaic sepulchral inscriptions; these are fairly readily decipherable, but are largely unhelpful in interpreting the longer, more historically important and interesting inscriptions, which continue, at least partially, to elude comprehension. These are generally sepulchral inscriptions as well, being found on the sides of tombs, but clearly in these cases their owners felt that their life stories were worth commemoration. One inscription from Antiphellos (*TAM* i 55) has been suggested as a 'royal decree', but this interpretation is not generally accepted.[60]

The earliest surviving example of Lycian writing dates from *c.* 500, and is a fragment of an olpe found at Xanthos bearing the name *Pinike* (N 313b).[61] Bryce suggests that the script may have been developed earlier than the early fifth century;[62] there are two late sixth-century graffiti from Rhodian contexts which may be in Lycian (N 300a & b), but this identification of the language is open to question.[63] In any case, to judge from the complete absence of stone inscriptions in the early fifth century as compared with their presence in the late fifth and fourth, literate Lycians this early were few and far between. Lycian inscriptions are very difficult to date securely; some attempts at dating by means of letter styles have been

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possibility may be the 'letters of ancient writing' (τύποι ἀρχαίων γραμμάτων) on the bronze tablet found near Xanthos that predicted Persian destruction by Alexander (Plut. *Alex.* 17.5).

54 For the current state, see Bryce 1986: 42-71; Neumann 1990; Melchert 1993a.

55 Bryce 1986: 65-66.

56 Bryce 1986: 68. It is instructive to look through Melchert 1993a and see how many Lycian word-stems are identifiable for which no meaning can be advanced.

57 Bryce 1986: 71.

58 Melchert 1993a: i, 115. Gusmani 1993: 29 (also Carruba 1996: 34) entertains the possibility that it was indeed the language of the Milyan people, but concedes that there is no strong reason for a connection. Schafer 1963-1967 goes further, and suggests that 'Milyan' was the language of the Solymoi, the ancient inhabitants of the area, no longer spoken, and identifies a fourth language on the Inscribed Pillar, which he believes to be the true Milyan. His ideas have generally been ignored, and to base historical conclusions upon them would be dangerous.

59 For what can be said about Lycian B, see Ševorškin 1968: 469-91 (according to Melchert 1993a: 115 an optimistic analysis); Meriggi 1980: 250-64; Gusmani 1993; Melchert 1993a: 115. Carruba 1996 35 suggests that Lycian B derives directly from Luwian.

60 Sharp 1841: 489; against, see Savelsberg 1878: 132.

61 Metzger 1972: 164 no. 375. See Neumann 1996: 146 for the name. It is suggested that Φοίνικος at *TAM* i 115.4 represents a personal name Φοῖνιξ (see Wörrle 1991: 221).

62 Bryce 1986: 54.

63 N, p. 11.

made by Laroche, but this is extremely tentative.[64]

The longest continuous inscription in Lycian, and the most important document in the language if only it could be understood, is the 'Inscribed Pillar' or 'Xanthos Stele' (*TAM* i 44).[65] This inscription is inscribed on the side of a pillar tomb, a very impressive monument,[66] and describes the military campaigns and victories of the tomb's owner, Kheriga.[67] It has three sections, a long historical section in Lycian (*a*.1-*c*.19), a twelve-line Greek epigram (*c*.20-31),[68] and a long section in Lycian B (*c*.32-*d*.71). The Pillar was erected sometime towards the end of the fifth century or the beginning of the fourth, since the name Artaxerxes appears in the historical section (*b*.59-60), who is almost certainly Artaxerxes II, who ascended the throne in 404.[69] The Pillar mentions a 'sarcophagus of Erbbina' (*Erbbinahe : tezi*, *a*.25); the only Erbbina known is an early fourth-century dynast, who was probably responsible for the construction of the Nereid Monument (p. 146); this may well be the 'sarcophagus'[70] mentioned, and so it would appear that the inscription, if not necessarily the monument, dates to the time of Erbbina.[71]

The Lycian B section is wholly incomprehensible. The historical section remains largely untranslated, because of imperfect understanding and damage which has obliterated some lines. Nonetheless, some guesses about its content can be made from the appearance of recognizable names,

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64 Laroche 1979, 55-56; note the criticisms of Bryce 1986: 59.

65 A good modern treatment of the entire inscription is lacking, but see Eichner 1993b: 128-53, 158-69 on the Lycian B section; the account of Bean 1978: 177-79 is overly influenced by the ideas of Stoltenberg 1955, which are no longer generally accepted.

66 For the pillar itself, see Demargne 1958: 79-102, pls. 25-44; 1974: 113; Bean 1978: 57-58, pl. 15; Bayburtluoğlu 1980: 67-68; Deltour-Levie 1982: 163-67, and see the reconstruction by Coupel in Demargne, Coupel 1963: fig. 4.

67 For the identification of the owner, see p. 130.

68 Also published as Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI* 93, *CEG* 177 and *SEG* 42 1245; cf. *SEG* 37 1231.

69 *TAM* i, p. 46; Demargne 1974: 113; 1979: 98; Laroche 1979: 54; Childs 1981: 66; cf. Mørkholm, Zahle 1972: 111-12 & n. 435 and Borchhardt 1978b: 190 n. 20, who suggest a later date in the early fourth century. The inscription is unlikely to date before 404, because of the appearance of the throne-name of Artaxerxes, which appears in Lycian as *Ertaχssiraza* at *b*.59-60 (see Schmitt 1982a: 21-22 no. 24; 1982b: 375), which would not have been in use before his accession (although since the reference is between two passages which almost certainly deal with events of 411, it is probably in reference to actions of Artaxerxes before his accession). The possibility that Artaxerxes I is meant, considered and rejected by Childs 1981: 66 n. 64, is unlikely, though Deecke 1888: 828 accepts it.

70 Melchert 1993a: 72 gives "'sarcophagus, coffin' (or similar)" for the stem *tezi-*/*τezi-*. *TAM* i 88.3, where the term is applied to a house-tomb, would suggest that it could be applied to any tomb, not necessarily what we would recognise as a sarcophagus.

71 Metzger *et al.* 1979: 25; M, pp. 28-29; Metzger 1979b: 474; Bousquet 1987: 127; *contra* Childs 1981: 66, who asserts that this Erbbina must be different to the known dynast. Note the indications in the inscriptions on a statue base of Erbbina from the Letoön that he wished to glorify his deceased father (*SEG* 39 1414.52-53).

though the translation of large sections proposed by Stoltenberg[72] has been rendered largely obsolete by subsequent archaeological discoveries and work on the Lycian language, and little faith can now be placed in it.[73]

More recently, there has been discovered at the Letoön the best-preserved religious decree from Lycia. This is a trilingual stele (N 320),[74] inscribed on one side in Lycian and on the other in Greek, with a brief Aramaic résumé on one of the end sides.[75] The Lycian text is perhaps more likely a translation of the Greek rather than *vice versa*.[76] The decree, which was passed in 337, is concerned with the setting up of a cult of the Basileus Kaunios, a Carian cult (and therefore largely outside the scope of this work)[77] centred in Kaunos on the Lycio-Carian border. Given the Carian nature of the cult and the fact that by this time Lycia was under direct control of the Hekatomnid rulers of Caria, it seems plausible that, though the decree is couched in terms to indicate that the Xanthians had requested the setting up of this cult and Pixodaros, the Carian satrap, had merely approved it, in fact what was happening was that a Carian cult was being forced upon the Lycians, as part of a process of Carianization;[78] one might compare the spread of Roman imperial cult as part of the process of Romanization.[79]

The provisions of the decree themselves and some of the terms used are of considerable interest.[80] Some, such as the *Nymphai*/Eliyãna, will be dealt with later (p. 205).

There are problems with the Greek inscriptions from Lycia. As yet, there is no complete collection; the second volume of *TAM* that dealt with the Greek inscriptions is not comprehensive, omitting some sites and some inscriptions from sites included. There are some from the Achaemenid period, but again largely sepulchral in nature. Some help can be gained from Hellenistic inscriptions, but one must be careful how one uses these; for there is no guarantee that practices in place in the second or first centuries date back to before the conquests of Alexander the Great. A major change seems to have overtaken the cities of Lycia in the Hellenistic period, and they acquire all the forms of Greek *poleis*. Despite the growing Hellenization of Lycia from the beginning of the fourth century, the inscriptions of the Achaemenid period show no trace of such institutions. It

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72 Stoltenberg 1955: 35-43.

73 See Bryce 1986: 64 n. 50, on Stoltenberg.

74 The Greek text is *SEG* 27 942.

75 On this inscription and monument generally, see Metzger *et al.* 1979: *passim*.

76 But see Laroche 1979: 79, who concludes that the Greek and Lycian texts were composed simultaneously.

77 On it see Bryce 1986: 186, 191-93.

78 Borchhardt 1978b.

79 Mitchell 1996: 1322.

80 For a fuller discussion of the cult practices, see Bryce 1986: 191-93.

seems therefore likely that the changes took place in the last decades of the fourth century and the first of the third.

There is an ever-growing body of numismatic evidence, now numbering several thousand coins, displaying a significant degree of uniformity.[81] Many coins have been found inscribed in Lycian characters, indicating either the name of an individual, or that of a city, or sometimes both. Coins first appeared in Lycia sometime shortly before *c.* 500,[82] following developments in the Greek world. These coins were, so far as can be told from surviving specimens, of a roughly uniform standard (between 9.00 and 9.50 grams),[83] demonstrating that they were intended for use throughout all of Lycia. Later, a division of coinage circulation between western Lycia, which used a lighter standard, and central and eastern Lycia, which used a heavier, came into existence.[84] Zahle has argued that since these coins were of a standard differing from the Persian, which was used by Lycia's neighbours in Phaselis and Pamphylia, they were intended solely for local use,[85] this may have been an assertion of local autonomy.

Much still remains to be understood about the coinage. The name *Zẽmure* or *Zẽmuri* was known already from Lycian coins, but it had been assumed to be the name of a Lycian dynast, although a connection with Limyra had been recognized).[86] In 1967, however, a bilingual (Greek and Lycian) inscription was discovered in the Letoön sanctuary, near to the Lycian city of Xanthus, which demonstrated that *Zẽmure* was the Lycian name for Limyra.[87]

The vast bulk of the archaeological evidence[88] is made up by funerary monuments. The bulk of the public buildings date from the Hellenistic or Roman times; any there in the Achaemenid period have mostly been obliterated by the later construction.[89] Snodgrass has argued persuasively that archaeological data is of a quite different sort to that required by historians,

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[81] On the coinage see Hill 1897: xxv-xliv; Head 1911: 688-693; Babelon 1910: 172-343; Jenkins 1959: 32-41; and more recently Mørkholm 1964; Olçay, Mørkholm 1971; Mørkholm, Zahle 1972; 1976; M; Spier 1987; Vismara 1989a; 1989b; Zahle 1989.

[82] Zahle 1989: 170.

[83] M, p. 5.

[84] Mørkholm 1964; Zahle 1989; see pp. 115-16.

[85] Zahle 1989: 171; Zahle 1991.

[86] For the coinage, see M 125, 142a-b, 145a-b; also in abbreviated form on M 144a-b, d. For the previous connection made with Limyra, see Hill 1895.

[87] The form on the inscription (N 312.5) is an ethnic, *Zẽmuris*, equivalent to ΛΙΜΥΡΕΥΣ, but the name also appears on coins. Melchert 1993a: 98 gives the nominative singular as *Zẽmure*, but the name is given in *GHHIL*, 231 as *Zẽmuri*.

[88] For archaeological evidence for settlements, see e.g. Metzger 1963: *passim*; Wurster 1974; 1976; 1977a: 117ff.; 1977b: 193ff.; 1978; Wurster, Wörrle 1980; Marksteiner 1989.

[89] There is a *prytaneion* at Tlos attested in a inscription (*CIG* 4239.1-2; *TAM* ii 582) dated by Miller 1978: no. 445 to the fourth-century, but which actually belongs to the first.

and hence does not always fit historical models;[90] this is undoubtedly the case with Lycia. Sometimes the historical material does match the archaeological; for instance, the archaeological richness of the city of Xanthos fits well with the conclusion from historical sources that it was the most important city in the region.[91] On the other hand, Limyra possesses something in the region of 500 tombs, five times as many as any other city in Lycia (indeed, almost as many as all the other cities put together), which might lead one to argue that it was a very important city; yet historical evidence would suggest that it was only so for a period of thirty to forty years in the early fourth century (pp. 154-170). Myra, as already noted (p. 7), does not even merit a mention before Hellenistic times.

Most of the tombs were emptied of their contents long before westerners 'rediscovered' them. In the early nineteenth century, Beaufort found a sarcophagus at Phaselis with its single occupant still inside, but lacking any grave-goods;[92] Phaselis, however, was culturally distinct from the rest of Lycia (p. 233), and it is therefore most unlikely that the sarcophagus was pre-Hellenistic. Fellows in 1840 found bones in a tomb in Pinara,[93] but this tomb carried an inscription solely in Greek, and seems again to be post-Classical. Epichoric-period house-tombs with their burials intact have only recently been unearthed at Limyra.[94]

So it is clear that the sources are defective and slight. In this, however, lies much of the fascination of Lycian history.

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90 Snodgrass 1987: 36-66.
91 Zahle 1980: 40-42.
92 Beaufort 1818: 62.
93 Fellows 1841: 143-44.
94 Cf. for an anthropological analysis of the skeletal remains, Großschmidt 1991; 1992.

CHAPTER TWO

THE LYCIAN PEOPLE AND THEIR ENVIRONMENT

1 *Geography and communications in Lycia*[1]

Lycia lies on the south-west coast of Asia Minor, between Caria and Pamphylia. At the period of its smallest extent, at the time of the Persian conquest, the Lycian state covered an area comparable in size to Attica, extending over most of the territory of the Xanthos valley, probably as far north as Araxa, more than forty kilometres away from Xanthos, and nearly fifty from the Mediterranean; Bryce has argued that to Homer 'Lycia' meant no more than the Xanthos valley.[2] At its largest, under Perikle of Limyra (pp. 154-70), the Lycian state was comparable in size to the southern Peloponnese (i.e. Laconia and Messenia), stretching from Phaselis in the east to Telemessos in the north-west, nearly a hundred and thirty kilometres as the crow flies, and included a large section of southern Milyas, if not all of it (p. 20). It is separated from its neighbours by high mountains which hampered movement in antiquity.[3] This remoteness continued into modern times—when Bean first visited the area in 1946 he found a country where tractors were unknown, and:

> When I asked, 'What do you do in the winter?', the answer was, 'We sit'.[4]

Three great chains determine access to and within Lycia. In the west two spurs of the western Tauros, the Boncuk Dağları and the Baba Dağı (this latter being ancient Mt. Kragos and Mt. Antikragos) restrict access to Lycia to the pass between them, east of Telemessos. This division is clearly noticeable; the open wide plains of the Dalaman Çayı (ancient Indos) and Nif Çayı (ancient Glaukos) give way rapidly to high forested mountains, traversable even today only by narrow roads. Nonetheless, there is no other reasonable means for an army to enter Lycia from Caria other than the pass north of Mt. Antikragos.

West of Mts. Kragos and Antikragos the cities were of a mixed Lycio-

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[1] For full discussion of the topography of Lycia: Treuber 1887: 10-11; Mason 1942: 93-95, 145-48; Bayburtluoğlu, Borchhardt 1990; Kolb, Kupke 1992: 4-8.

[2] Bryce 1986: 13.

[3] On Lycia's isolation: Treuber 1887: 9-12. Mason 1942: 93 describes it as having "rugged, indented shores, from which communications inland are very difficult".

[4] Bean 1978: 5.

Carian culture, the citizens quite possibly often bilingual. Coinage of the area has been found with Lycian names inscribed in Carian letters.[5] Kaunos at the western edge of this area is always described as Carian until the sixth century A.D.,[6] yet has tombs very similar to a typical late Lycian type,[7] whilst Krya, at this time acknowledged as Carian, has three tombs which are certainly of a Lycian type.[8] It may be that the language of the Kaunians, described by Herodotus (1.172.1) as similar to that of the Carians but not identical, was in fact a Carian dialect which borrowed from Lycian.

In Telemessos, a coastal city, one is constantly aware of the mountains rising up to the south, and the city seems very much enclosed. There is, however, a small fertile plain to the east.[9] To leave Telemessos by land even today one is forced to travel east, even if one is actually attempting to reach the southern coast of the peninsular (the modern resort of Ölü Deniz). From Telemessos to the Xanthos valley was a two-day trek with a donkey even as recently as 1946.[10]

The valley of the Xanthos river (modern Eşen Çayı) is long and relatively wide for river valleys in Lycia (fifteen to twenty kilometres for most of its length), though small in comparison to the great river plains of the Aegean coast of Anatolia. According to Alcman, the river's streams were yellow, but that is probably because ξάνθος was the Greek word for 'yellow',[11] to which the original Hittite name of the river, Siyanti (p. 57), had become assimilated.[12] It stretches from the mountains at Araxa to the coast at Patara, flanked by mountain ranges, running inland for around thirty kilometres, providing a fertile plain in stark contrast to the mountains either side. Homer (*Il.* 12.314) says that the finest land there (that assigned to Sarpedon and Glaukos) was "rich in vineyard and wheat-bearing ploughland" (καλὸν φυταλιῆς καὶ ἀρούρης πυροφόροιο).[13] Though Aeschylus (*Supp.* 870) describes the tomb of Sarpedon at Xanthos as 'very sandy' (πολύψαμμον), the dunes that are now characteristic of Xanthos

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[5] Masson 1974: 124-30.

[6] The earliest description of it as Lycian is Hierocl. *Synecdemus* 685.1. It was perhaps added to Lycia as part of the provincial reorganization of Diocletian; see Bean 1978: 30.

[7] Roos 1972: 95.

[8] Roos 1985: 33-35.

[9] Ruge 1934b: 414 describes these plains as 'wide' ("weiten"), which is a slight exaggeration, and fruit-bearing ("fruchtbaren"). Ruge, followed by Laumonier 1958: 613-14, believes that Cic. *Div.* 1.42.94, who refers to fertile fields cultivated by the Telemessians of Caria, is in fact a reference to Lycian Caria; but against this Bean, Cook 1955: 153; Harvey 1991: 249.

[10] Bean 1978: 5.

[11] LSJ, 1187 *s.v.* ξανθός.

[12] It is sometimes said that the streams *are* yellow, though I have not myself observed such coloration. Homer's description of the river as 'swirling' (δινήεις: *Il.* 2.877, 5.479), however, is recognisable today where it flows past the outcrop on which Xanthos the city sits.

[13] Tr. Hammond 1987: 220.

and further down the valley are of recent origin.[14]

The valley forms part of one of the main land communication routes along the southern coast of Anatolia, both today and, it would appear, in antiquity (so, for instance, Alexander passed down the Xanthos valley [Arr. *Anab.* 1.24.4]); any passage along the river or its banks, however, must take the traveller past the rocky outcrop on which the city of Xanthos was placed; from this derives that city's great importance. Communications between cities in the valley, most of which can be seen from Xanthos, are fairly easy. This area was the political centre of Lycia through much of antiquity; Xanthos seems to have been the capital of Lycia (pp. 56-60), and four of the most important cities in Lycia mentioned by Strabo (14.3.2 [664]), Tlos, Xanthos, Pinara and Patara, were in the valley.

Once beyond Xanthos, the Ak Dağları divide the valley from the rest of Lycia, making access from the Xanthos plain to central Lycia practicable only at the coast. The land route, which came *via* Kalkan (ancient Phoenicus), cannot have been an easy journey in antiquity.

Most of the cities in the valley are placed high on the slopes of the flanking mountain ranges. Most spectacular is Pinara, described by Spratt and Forbes as follows:

> A stupendous tower of rock, faced by a perpendicular precipice, perforated with a thousand tombs, and crowned by ruined fortifications, rose out of a deep ravine which was thronged with ruins and sarcophagi, and intersected by ridges bearing the more important edifices.[15]

Central Lycia is different territory. This area mainly consists of a great number of small valleys separated by mountainous ridges. These contributed to the rise of a large number of independent cities in antiquity (thirty-three known).[16] The most important of these cities, however, lay on the two routes by which one might most easily traverse this area;[17] along the coast, or through the large valley dominated by the mountain on which Kyaneai stands.[18] This region may have had a significant shortage of food-growing areas.[19]

Movement from Myra, an important site despite its absence from the literary record (p. 7) and Andriake, its port (App. *B Civ.* 4.10.82), across the Alaca Dağı to the major eastern city of Limyra would not have been easy

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[14] *Contra* Keen 1996b: 287.

[15] Spratt, Forbes 1847: 8.

[16] Zahle 1980: 46-48; Zimmermann 1992a: 11-15, with refs. On *TAVO* 15.2, central Lycia requires its own inset at a larger scale than the main map in order to fully record the number of sites there.

[17] Zimmermann 1992a: 15.

[18] On the topography in Kyaneai: V. Höhfeld, "Naturraum und Naturraumprobleme in einer Abwanderungsregion", in Kolb 1991: 247-60.

[19] Zimmermann 1992a: 13.

before the construction of the modern road—as difficult, if not more so, than the journey from western to central Lycia. The mountain comes at this point more-or-less up to the sea, and has forbiddingly steep slopes; Fellows, and Spratt and Forbes, considered the ancient route, which went *via* Ision, to be difficult and highly unsuitable for horses;[20] Stark thought it less difficult, and traversable in five and a half hours from Myra to Phoinike (modern Finike; pp. 225-27), but nonetheless by no means an easy journey.[21] In the Roman empire the customary mode of travel was by ferry (*OGIS* 572).[22]

In the east, the greatest range of all, the Bey Dağları (known in antiquity as a promontory of Mt. Tauros; Plin. *HN* 5.27.97), separates Lycia from the Pamphylian plain. Individual spurs separate the valley of the River Arykandos (the modern Basgöz, also called the Karasu) and its associated fertile plain, including from, on one side, central Lycia, and on the other, the coastal plain of the Alakir Çayı.[23] The Admiralty guide to Turkey says that the Arykandos provides a 'tolerable' route from Finike to the Elmalı plain.[24] The most important sites in the Arykandos plain were the city of Limyra and its port, Phoinike.[25] Limyra has a particular high number of tombs (approximately 485 known in 1983; more continue to be found) as compared to those at other sites[26]—perhaps Limyra had an abnormally large catchment-area.

The Alakir Çayı plain was settled in antiquity by Rhodian colonies. The four known were Rhodiapolis (Theopomp. F 103.15),[27] Phaselis (pp. 233-35), Korydalla (Steph. Byz. 376.15 *s.v.* Κορύδαλλα) and Gagai (*Etym. Magn.* 219 *s.v.* Γάγαι).[28] Melanippion may also belong among them.[29] Rhodiapolis subsequently seems to have become heavily 'Lycianized' (there are no Greek inscriptions from the Classical period

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20 Fellows 1841: 204-05; Spratt, Forbes 1847: 139-43.

21 Stark 1958a: 178-83, giving a vivid description of the journey.

22 Further, Bean 1978: 121.

23 The Alakir Çayı is identified by some (e.g. Bryce 1986: xvi; Kolb *et al.* 1990: 14) with the ancient Limyros (Str. 14.3.7; Pompon. 1.82; Ptol. *Geog.* 5.3.3); but it seems more likely that the Limyros is the modern Göksu, which rises in Limyra (Bean 1978: 142-43).

24 Mason 1942: 147.

25 Borchhardt 1990e; 1993; p. 227.

26 On the necropoleis at Limyra, cf. Schulz 1990a.

27 Rhodiapolis—strictly speaking Rhodia at this point (Theopomp. F 102.15)—is assumed to be a Rhodian colony from its name (Bean 1978: 148).

28 The Greek city of Olympos on the eastern coast is generally assumed to have been a Hellenistic foundation (Ruge 1939: 317).

29 Melanippion is mentioned by Hecataeus (F 259 *ap.* Steph. Byz. 441.21 *s.v.* Μελανίππιον) and Alexander Polyhistor (F 62 *ap.* Steph. Byz. 441.9-10 *s.v.* Μελανίππιον), if Stephanus is citing them accurately. Stephanus (441.21) cites Hecataeus as saying that Melanippion was in Pamphylia, but 'others say' that it was in Lycia (442.1); at 441.9-10 he cites Alexander Polyhistor for this.

from Rhodiapolis), before being 're-Hellenized' after the conquests of Alexander.

A further spur of the Bey Dağları, the Tahatlı Dağı, runs along the eastern coast of the peninsula, all but cutting off the settlements facing into the Gulf of Antalya from the rest of Lycia. A journey along the high tortuous modern road from Kumluca (east of the Alakir Çayı, on the site of Korydalla) to Tekirova (a little to the south of Phaselis) shows how difficult passage across this range must have been.

Of the mountainous country to the north of Limyra and Phoinike, in which Arykanda rests, Fellows wrote:

> The mere mention of mountain scenery cannot give any idea of the mountains here, which are broken into sections forming cliffs, whose upheaved strata stand erect in peaks many thousand feet high, uniting to form a wild chaos, but each part harmonized by the other; for all is grand, yet lovely. Deep in the ravines dash torrents of the purest water, and over these grow the most luxuriant trees; above are the graver forests of pines upon the grey cliffs, and higher than these are ranges of mountains capped with snow, contrasting with the deep blue of the cloudless sky.[30]

The three ranges that dominate Lycia join in the north of the country, forming a plateau consistently 3,000 feet above sea level.[31] This makes access from Pisidia very difficult. The easiest access to Lycia was from the west, through the gap between the Boncuk Dağları and the Baba Dağı; access from the east was possible, but difficult.

The actual border between Lycia and Caria was usually placed in the plain between Kaunos or Daidala and Telemessos, but the precise line was fluid and uncertain; it was by far the least clearly defined of Lycia's borders and shifted considerably over antiquity. The Athenian Tribute Lists call Krya Carian (*IG* i³ 282.iv.33); Telemessos is associated (albeit through restoration of the texts) with the Lycians (*IG* i³ 261.i.29-30; 262.v.32-33). Herodotus (1.172.2) talks of Carians going to the *Kalyndika oura*. This may mean that he placed the border of Caria at Kalynda, but this is not absolutely certain; it would be possible in the context, but it is not the automatic reading of the Greek. In any case, Herodotus certainly thought of Kalynda as Carian (7.98). Ps.-Scylax (100) names Telemessos as the first city of Lycia. The fourth-century Lycian dynast Erbbina, only *known* to have minted coinage in Telemessos (but see p. 146), minted coins inscribed with his name in both Lycian and Carian (M 238b). Artemidorus in the second century calls Krya Lycian (*ap.* Steph. Byz. 387.13 *s.v.* Κρύα; at least Stephanus calls Krya Lycian and then refers to Artemidorus). Alexander Polyhistor includes Telandros and Daidala in his *Lykiaka* (F 54, 61,

[30] Fellows 1852: 373-74.
[31] Bean 1978: 19.

ap. Steph. Byz. *s.v.*). Strabo places Kalynda and Kaunos outside Lycia (14.2.2 [651]), which he begins after Daidala (14.3.1-2 [664]), placed in the Rhodian Peraia (14.2.2 [651]). Livy (37.6) says that Telemessos was attached to Caria on one side, and Lycia on the other. Pomponius Mela places Kalynda and Kaunos in Caria (1.16), and Telemessos in Lycia (1.15).

Pliny places Telemessos on the frontier of Lycia, and lists Telandros as part of Lycia (*HN* 5.28.101); Daidala, Krya, Kalynda and Kaunos are in Caria (5.29.103-04). Arrian (*Anab.* 1.24.4) lists Telemessos as the first site Alexander reached on entering Lycia. Claudius Ptolemy (second century A.D.) makes Kalynda the first city of Lycia (*Geog.* 5.3.2), the first ancient author to do so; he places Kaunos in Asia (5.2.8), i.e. in Caria, on the border with Lycia (5.2.9). Stephanus calls Telandros Carian (620.10 *s.v.* Τήλανδρος), and Daidala a *polis* of the Rhodian Peraia (216.8 *s.v.* Δαίδαλα). He also says, however, that 'the *polis* [of Daidala] in Lycia [was named] from Daidalos son of Ikaros' (ἡ πόλις ἀπὸ Δαιδάλου τοῦ Ἰκάρου ἡ ἐν Λυκίᾳ, 216.9-10 *s.v.* Δαίδαλα), suggesting perhaps that Stephanus had sources that placed Daidala in both Lycia and Caria, leading him to believe that there were two cities concerned.[32] Hierocles (*Synecdemus* 685.1) ends the eparchy of Lycia at Kaunos (he is recording from east to west). Finally, the *Stadiasmos* apparently places the border between Lycia and Caria between Telemessos and Daidala.

The eastern area does not seem always to have been part of Lycia. Hecataeus of Miletos, writing in the late sixth century, places Phellos[33] in Pamphylia (F 258). Ps.-Scylax (100), on the other hand takes Lycia as far east as Perge. Surviving fragments of Alexander Polyhistor's *Lykiaka* list no site further east than Phellos (F 63 *ap.* Steph. Byz. 661.19-22 *s.v.* Φελλός). Timachidas in the Lindos Temple Chronicle, writing in the late second or early first century, places Phaselis in Solyma, an alternative name for Milyas (Hdt. 1.173.2; Str. 14.3.10; for Milyas see p. 19). Strabo places the border with Pamphylia beyond Phaselis, with Olbia in Pamphylia (14.4.1 [667]). Pomponius (1.15) mentions no site further east than Limyra; Phaselis is in Pamphylia (1.14). Pliny places Olbia and Phaselis in Pamphylia (*HN* 5.26.96); the first identifiable site in Lycia is Olympos (5.28.100; he first mentions Simena, but the only known site of that name was on the coast of central Lycia). Ptolemy starts Pamphylia at Olbia (*Geog.* 5.5.2). Athenaeus (8.42 [350a]) reckons Phaselis as Pamphylian. Hierocles (*Synecdemus* 683.1) begins the eparchy of Lycia at Phaselis.

The northernmost city mentioned in the surviving fragments of Alexander's *Lykiaka* is Oinoanda (F 52 *ap.* Steph. Byz. 486.5-6 *s.v.* Οἰνόανδα).

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[32] His source for a Lycian location was clearly Alexander Polyhistor's *Lykiaka* (F 61).

[33] See Bean 1958a, 1978: 96-97, for the location of this site.

Strabo (14.3.9 [666]) reckons Termessos a Pisidian city. Pliny (*HN* 5.28.101) places Choma, Podalia,[34] Kandyba, Oinoanda, Balboura and Boubon in Lycia.[35] Capiton the Lycian reckons Arykanda a Lycian *polis*, if one can accept the citation by Stephanus (F 5 *ap.* Steph. Byz. 129.9-10 *s.v.* Ἀρύκανδα);[36] Pliny on the other hand places Arykanda in Milyas (*HN* 5.25.95).[37] Ptolemy (*Geog.* 5.3.3) reckons that Lycia went as far north as Sagalassos, but he does separate off Podalia (on the southern Elmalı plain), Neisa, Choma and Kandyba into Milyas (5.3.4), and other cities into the Cabalis (5.3.5),[38] as sub-regions differentiated from Lycia proper; he also reckons Termessos to be Pamphylian (5.2.17). Hierocles (*Synecdemus* 683.4) also lists Sagalassos as part of the Lycian eparchy.

As far as the overall picture of the borders of Lycia is concerned, Ptolemy and Hierocles can be largely disregarded, as they are almost certainly both representing the situation as it was in their day—Lycia as a political entity progressively accumulated more territory through the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Pliny also partially reflects the provincial boundaries of the day, and partially what he has been able to glean from his reading (and probably partially a lack of familiarity with the region). Ps.-Scylax's extension of Lycia to the Eurymedon is perhaps to be explained by his reflection of the situation around 330.[39] Once these are disregarded, a consensus arises, fairly strongly for Phaselis as the eastern border, and less strongly for Telemessos as the western.

To the north-east of Lycia lies Milyas, a name which according to Herodotus (1.173.2) at one time referred to all of Lycia,[40] but by this period covered solely the uplands of the eastern part of the peninsula.[41] It is divided from Lycia proper by high mountains;[42] even today most traffic from central Lycia to Antalya passes along the coast rather than through the Elmalı plain.[43]

Milyas and the Cibyratis area to the north-west of Lycia are archaeologically distinct from Lycia itself in the Classical period.[44] Tumulus

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[34] Podalia is usually identified with the site at Bucak, by Avlan Gölü, but Bean 1978: 153-56, argues instead for the site at Soğle, an identification accepted by Buschmann on *TAVO* 15.2.

[35] On this: Jones 1971: 405.

[36] Stephanus' reliability in such matters is something of an open question, for which see Whitehead 1994.

[37] On this: Syme 1995: 185.

[38] This area is described as 'a part of Cabalis' (Καβαλίας μέρους); at 5.5.5 he describes a further region of Cabalis, on which see Syme 1995: 184.

[39] Perhaps it reflects additions to Lycia made under Alexander, see Keen 1996c: 117 n. 50; Flensted-Jensen, Hansen 1996: 137-38.

[40] On Herodotus and Milyas, cf. Hall 1986: 143.

[41] Bayburtluoğlu, Borchhardt 1990: 19.

[42] See now Coulton 1993a: 79.

[43] See Warner 1994: 1 and refs. for communications to Elmalı.

[44] Kjeldsen, Zahle 1975: 314-19; Zahle 1980: 37-48. For Milyas, compare Hdt. 7.77, who

tombs, possibly dating to as late as the eighth and seventh centuries and probably of Phrygian nature (though there is still some dispute), have been found at the village of Bayındır in the plain of Elmalı,[45] and it is not unlikely that south-western Milyas was still settled by people of a principally Phrygian rather than Lycian stock in the fifth century. Later Lycian inscriptions from the Elmalı area are carved in a script "reminiscent of the Phrygian manner of rupestrian writing".[46]

The borders of Milyas are indicated by the ancient geographers.[47] Strabo places the northern border of Milyas at Sagalassos (14.3.5 [665]) and the eastern at Termessos (13.4.17 [638]). Pliny has the region border on Lycaonia, Pamphylia and Galatia (*HN* 5.42.147).[48] The fourth city of the Cibyratis, Kibyra itself, was for Pliny (*HN* 5.29.105) and Ptolemy (*Geog.* 5.2.17) part of Phrygia. Pliny (*HN* 5.42.147), Strabo (13.4.17 [631]; cf. 14.3.9 [666]) and Ptolemy (*Geog.* 5.3.4-5) all distinguish Milyas and the Cibyratis/Cabalis (i.e. Kibyra. Bubon, Balboura and Oinoanda).[49] In Polybius (5.72.5) the Seleucid general Garsyeris, having entered Milyas, encamped near Kretopolis, which is possibly to the north of Termessos;[50] Calder and Bean identify a site to the north-east of this, with the modern name of Melli, as 'Milyas'.[51] In general terms this evidence combines to suggest a location in the north-east Lycian peninsula around the Elmalı plain, and beyond, but not as far west as the Xanthos valley.[52]

It should be noted that, according to Arrian (*Anab.* 1.24.5) Milyas, though it belonged to Phrygia, had been part politically of Lycia since Achaemenid times, when the Persian King had given it to the Lycians.

As already noted, land communications in this area were difficult, and so, as in much of the Greek world,[53] the sea was the prime method of com-

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clearly distinguishes the two peoples.

[45] Mellink 1988b: 121; 1989: 120; the chief finds, now displayed in Antalya Museum, are illustrated in Özgen, Özgen 1988: 31-49 nos. 79-62; see also Acar, Mazur 1989. If they are Phrygian, this discovery reshapes ideas of the geography of early first millennium Anatolia.

[46] Mellink 1976b: 23.

[47] See now Syme 1995: 183-92; Keen 1996c: 113.

[48] He has it centre around Baris, which Syme 1995: 188 identifies as the lake now known as Kestel Gölu.

[49] Though Str.13.4.16 [630] does say that the Cabalians were Solymians, an alternative name for the Milyans (Hdt. 1.173.3).

[50] See Walbank 1957: 598-99; Syme 1995: 194-95.

[51] Calder, Bean 1958, following Bérard 1892: 436-39.

[52] Bosworth 1980: 157-58; see Walbank 1957: 598 for other modern interpretations, and more recently Hall 1986: 137-58; Coulton 1993a; Frei 1993: 90. Stark 1958b: 108, 112 extends Milyas north-west into the Cibyratis, but offers no compelling evidence other than a belief that Alexander's objectives led him in this direction and a conflation of Milyas, Termilai (p. 30) and the modern village name of Dirmil. Syme 1995: 183-89 sees Cabalis as an area that could be subsumed into Milyas (*contra* the interpretation of his comments given by Keen 1996c: 113 n. 33); at 184 he says that "it could be argued that Pisidia or Milyas covered the Cabalis".

[53] This point has been made many times, e.g. Bowra 1959: 12.

munication. Even here, however, there were difficulties. For much of the coast of Lycia, good natural harbours are few and far between, though those that do exist are often well-sheltered.[54] Strabo (14.3.2 [664]) describes the coast as 'rugged and difficult, but with exceedingly good harbours' (τραχὺς ... καὶ χαλεπός, ἀλλ' εὐλίμενος σφόδρα),[55] and Strabo, as already suggested (p. 7) was familiar with the area.

The climate in Lycia is fairly typical for the Mediterranean coast of Anatolia. Lush and green in the spring, in the summer it is extremely hot down near the coast; there is little in the way of rain, streams dry up, and fresh water can be in short supply. Beaufort noted that fresh water supplies are scarce along large sections of the coast, particularly between Patara and Myra,[56] though the provision is better inland.[57] This still affects the area; in 1990 there was a water shortage at Kaş (ancient Antiphellos). Up in the mountains however, the climate is much milder and more tolerable in summer, but cold in winter.[58]

According to the Admiralty's handbook, the vegetation in the area consists of bush and crops in the coastal areas, and forests and pastures towards the mountains;[59] the area was still well-forested until recently.[60] Transhumance appears to have been practised. Short-range transhumance was a common feature of Mediterranean societies throughout their history,[61] and modern Turkish villagers often take their animals to higher altitudes during the hot summer months.[62] It seems likely that the eighty families who escaped the sack of Xanthos *c.* 540 (p. 75) were at their summer pastures high up on the plateaux above the Xanthos valley.[63] As far as the forests are concerned, Lycia was known in antiquity for its cedar (Theophr. *Hist. pl.* 3.12.4; Plin. *HN* 12.61.132, 13.11.52, 16.59.137), cypress (Theophr. *Hist. pl.* 4.5.2) and plane trees (Plin. *HN* 12.5.9).[64]

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[54] Treuber 1887: 9. Still today a sailor around the coast must take care; Heikell 1989: 161. For a detailed guide to the coast, see Heikell 1989: 161-99.

[55] Treuber 1887: 9 n. 1 seems to suspect (probably rightly) that Strabo is including Telemessos and Phaselis, the two harbours at the extremities of Lycia.

[56] Beaufort 1818: 9-10; see also Hohfeld in Kolb 1991: 247ff.

[57] Zimmermann 1992a: 14, 57.

[58] Further on the climate, see Ryder 1983: 323. On the climate in the Kyaneai region, see Höhfeld in Kolb 1991: 252; in the Elmalı region, see Warner 1994: 1.

[59] Mason 1942: 240.

[60] Meiggs 1982: 394.

[61] Garnsey 1988b: 200-02.

[62] Bean 1978: 50 attests the practice for the nineteen-sixties (cf. Stark 1958a: 153). Dr Hodkinson informs me that he observed such practices in the area in 1988. See Ryder 1983: 214 fig. 5.1 (at 148-49 Ryder makes no mention of Lycian sheep).

[63] Treuber 1887: 92-93; Bean 1978: 19, 50, 175. See further Spratt, Forbes 1847: 272; Fowden 1990: 75.

[64] See Meiggs 1982: 46 and 414 for a commentary on the sources; Robert 1980: 67 n. 416.

2 *The origins of the Lycians*

In Greek legend the inhabitants of Lycia in the Classical period migrated from Crete (Hdt. 1.173.1-2, 7.92; Str. 12.8.5, 14.1.6; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.1.1; Paus. 7.3.7). Herodotus give the following account of the Lycians' origins (1.173.1-3):

> καὶ οὗτοι μὲν τρόποισι τοιούτοισι χρέωνται, οἱ δὲ Λύκιοι ἐκ Κρήτης τὠρχαῖον γεγόνασι (τὴν γὰρ Κρήτην εἶχον τὸ παλαιὸν πᾶσαν βάρβαροι). (2) διενειχθέντων δὲ ἐν Κρήτῃ περὶ τῆς βασιληίης τῶν Εὐρώπης παίδων Σαρπηδόνος τε καὶ Μίνω, ὡς ἐπεκράτησε τῇ στάσι Μίνως, ἐξήλασε αὐτόν τε Σαρπηδόνα καὶ τοὺς στασιώτας αὐτοῦ· οἱ δὲ ἀπωσθέντες ἀπίκοντο τῆς Ἀσίης ἐς γῆν τὴν Μιλυάδα· τὴν γὰρ νῦν Λύκιοι νέμονται, αὕτη τὸ παλαιὸν ἦν Μιλυάς, οἱ δὲ Μιλύαι τότε Σόλυμοι ἐκαλέοντο. (3) τέως μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν Σαρπηδὼν ἦρχε, οἱ δὲ ἐκαλέοντο τό πέρ τε ἠνείκαντο οὔνομα καὶ νῦν ἔτι καλέονται ὑπὸ τῶν περιοίκων οἱ Λύκιοι, Τερμίλαι· ὡς δὲ ἐξ Ἀθηνέων Λύκος ὁ Πανδίονος, ἐξελασθεὶς καὶ οὗτος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ Αἰγέος, ἀπίκετο ἐς τοὺς Τερμίλας παρὰ Σαρπηδόνα, οὕτω δὴ κατὰ τοῦ Λύκου τὴν ἐπωνυμίην Λύκιοι ἀνὰ χρόνον ἐκλήθησαν.

> And these men[65] lived by such customs; the Lycians, on the other hand, originated in ancient times from Crete (for *barbaroi* formerly possessed all of Crete).[66] The children of Europa, Sarpedon and Minos fought in Crete for the kingdom. When Minos was victorious, he drove out Sarpedon himself and his partisans. Banished, they arrived at the land of Milyas in Asia; for the Lycians now inhabit the country, but formerly the same land was Milyas, and the Milyans then were called the Solymoi.[67] For a time they were called by that name which they had borne then, and by which the Lycians even now are still called by their neighbours, Termilai. But when Lykos son of Pandion, himself also expelled by his brother Aigeos, reached the Termilai, at the court of Sarpedon, so over time they were called Lycians, after the name of Lykos.

One should note Herodotus' assertion that in ancient times Crete was occupied by *barbaroi* (1.173.1), which implies that he thought the Lycians were *barbaroi*. Elsewhere he implicitly treats the Lycians as if they were non-Greek; note in particular his comments on the Lycians' strange habit of using matronymics rather than patronymics (pp. 34-35).

Menander, in the *Aspis* (23-26), which was written *c.* 300, describes the trip of the mercenary Daos to Lycia:

> (ΔΑΟΣ) ποταμός τις ἐστὶ τῆς Λυκίας καλούμενος
> Ξάνθος, πρὸς ᾧ τότ' ἦμεν ἐπιεικῶς μάχαις
> πολλαῖς διευτυχοῦντες, οἵ τε βάρβαροι
> ἐπεφεύγεσαν τὸ πεδίον ἐκλελοιπότες.

[65] The Kaunians, whose customs Herodotus has just been describing.

[66] Compare Hdt. 1.173.4: 'they have some Cretan customs, and some Carian'.

[67] On the Solymoi, see Syme 1995: 185.

DAOS: There is a river in Lycia called the Xanthos, to which we then came, continuing to be successful a fair number of battles; and the barbarians avoided [us], abandoning the plain.[68]

Strabo (14.5.23 [678]) further illustrates the point by citing Ephorus (F 162):

φήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Ἐφόρου, διότι τὴν χερρόνησον κατοικεῖ ταύτην ἑκκαίδεκα γένη, τρία μὲν Ἑλληνικά, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ βάρβαρα χωρὶς τῶν μιγάδων· ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ ... Λύκιοι ...

Ephorus says that sixteen races live in this peninsula, three Greek, the rest barbarian, except for those that are mixed; on the coast are ... the Lycians ...

However, Strabo's report of this passage does not make it clear in which category the Lycians were supposed to belong, though the fact that he only lists thirteen of the sixteen tribes might suggest that he has only mentioned those that were barbarian or mixed. In any case, the clear implication of these stories is that the Lycians were often considered *barbaroi*.

Strabo's version of Lycia's origins (12.8.5 [573]) is similar to Herodotus':

καὶ οἱ Κᾶρες δὲ νησιῶται πρότερον ὄντες καὶ Λέλεγες, ὥς φασιν, ἠπειρῶται γεγόνασι, προσλαβόντων Κρητῶν, οἳ καὶ τὴν Μίλητον ἔκτισαν ἐκ τῆς Κρητικῆς Μιλήτου Σαρπηδόνα λαβόντες κτίστην· καὶ τοὺς Τερμίλας κατῴκισαν ἐν τῇ νῦν Λυκίᾳ· τούτους δ' ἀγαγεῖν ἐκ Κρήτης ἀποίκους Σαρπηδόνα, Μίνω καὶ Ῥαδαμάνθυος ἀδελφὸν ὄντα, καὶ ὀνομάσαι Τερμίλας τοὺς πρότερον Μιλύας, ὥς φησιν Ἡρόδοτος, ἔτι δὲ πρότερον Σολύμους, ἐπελθόντα δὲ τὸν Πανδίονος Λύκον ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ προσαγορεῦσαι τοὺς αὐτοὺς Λυκίους. οὗτος μὲν οὖν ὁ λόγος ἀποφαίνει τοὺς αὐτοὺς Σολύμους τε καὶ Λυκίους, ὁ δὲ ποιητὴς χωρίζει· Βελλεροφόντης γοῦν ὡρμημένος ἐκ τῆς Λυκίας,

Σολύμοισι μαχέσσατο κυδαλίμοισι [Hom. *Il.* 6.184].

Πείσανδρόν τε ὡσαύτως υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Ἄρης ὥς φησι,

μαρνάμενον Σολύμοισι κατέκτανε [Hom. *Il.* 6.204].[69]

καὶ τὸν Σαρπηδόνα δὲ ἐπιχώριόν τινα λέγει.

And the Carians, who were previously islanders, and the Lelegians, so they say, had become mainlanders. The Cretans, who also founded Miletos, taking Sarpedon from Cretan Miletos as founder, assisted [the Carian settlement of the mainland]; and they settled the Termilai in the land which is now Lycia. The story is that Sarpedon, who was a brother of Minos and Rhadaman-

[68] Sandbach (in Gomme, Sandbach 1973: 65 *ad Aspis* 23) notes that the only evidence for a historical campaign in Lycia in Menander's lifetime is the taking of Lycia by Ptolemy in 309 (Diod. 20.27). Sandbach may well be right to consider Daos' adventures "nothing more than a piece of private freebooting", which he would place in the period following Alexander's death.

[69] Homer in fact wrote ... Σολύμοισι κατέκτανε κυδαλίμοισι; I have included the adjective in my translation.

thys, led the colonists from Crete, and that he named 'Termilai' those who had previously been Milyans, as Herodotus says, and still earlier Solymoi, but Lykos, son of Pandion, called them Lycians from his own name. This story represents as the same the Solymoi and the Milyans, but the poet distinguishes them; at least, Bellerophon, having started from Lycia

fought with the renowned Solymoi

And likewise Ares, so he says,

killed when fighting against the [renowned] Solymoi

his son Peisandros.[70] And he says that Sarpedon was a native.

Elsewhere Strabo quotes Ephorus for the foundation of Miletos (14.1.6 [634-35] = Ephor. F 127):

φησὶ δ' Ἔφορος τὸ πρῶτον κτίσμα εἶναι Κρητικόν (σχ. τὴν Μίλητον), ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάττης τετειχισμένον, ὅπου νῦν ἡ πάλαι Μίλητος ἔστι, Σαρπηδόνος ἐκ Μιλήτου τῆς Κρητικῆς ἀγαγόντος οἰκήτορας καὶ θεμένου τοὔνομα τῇ πόλει τῆς ἐκεῖ πόλεως ἐπώνυμον, κατεχόντων πρότερον Λελέγων τὸν τόπον· τοὺς δὲ περὶ Νηλέα ὕστερον τὴν νῦν τειχίσαι πόλιν.

Ephorus says that the first foundation [of Miletos] was Cretan, fortified above the sea, where now 'Old Miletos' is; Sarpedon from Cretan Miletos led the settlers, and gave to the city the name of the city there [in Crete]; Lelegians were previously settled at the spot.

This establishes that the tradition of a link between Sarpedon and Miletos goes back at least to the fourth century, and it seems not unlikely that all of Strabo's account quoted above of the origins of the Lycians derives from Ephorus, until he swaps to using Herodotus when he deals with the alternate name. Nothing in Herodotus' account precludes this version being available in the fifth century; he could easily have missed out the detail about the foundation of Miletos (though it is the sort of detail one might have expected him to include).

Another version of the story is found in Apollodorus (*Bibl.* 3.1.2):

τοῦ δὲ παιδὸς πρὸς Σαρπηδόνα μᾶλλον οἰκείως ἔχοντος πολεμήσας Μίνως ἐπροτέρησεν. οἱ δὲ φεύγουσι, καὶ Μίλητος μὲν Καρίᾳ προσσχὼν ἐκεῖ πόλιν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἔκτισε Μίλητον, Σαρπηδὼν δὲ συμμαχήσας Κίλικι πρὸς Λυκίους ἔχοντι πόλεμον, ἐπὶ μέρει τῆς χώρας, Λυκίας ἐβασίλευσε.

As the boy [Miletos] was more well-disposed towards Sarpedon, Minos went to war and prevailed. The others fled; Miletos landed in Caria, and there founded a city, named Miletos after himself. Sarpedon made an alliance with Kilix, who had a war with the Lycians, for a part of their country, and became king of Lycia.

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[70] In Homer Bellerophon's son is Isandros.

Further evidence to support a traditional Lycian connection with the Aegean coastal region comes from Herodotus, who says (1.147.1):

> βασιλέας δὲ ἐστήσαντο οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν Λυκίους ἀπὸ Γλαύκου τοῦ Ἱππολόχου γεγονότας
>
> Some of them [the Ionian cities] took Lycian kings descended from Glaukos son of Hippolochos.

To this one can then add the joint foundation of Erythrai by Cretans, Lycians, Carians and Pamphylians, as reported by Pausanias (7.3.7), and the account of Apollonius preserved in Stephanus (696.10-11 *s.v.* Χρυσαορίς), that Idrias, later Stratonikeia, was the first city founded by the Lycians. One might also bear in mind the tradition recorded in Strabo (13.4.8 [627]) that the Lycians captured Sardis at some point in the far-off reaches of time.

Finally there is a passage from Strabo (14.3.3 [665]), in the context of his description of Lycia:

> οἱ ποιηταὶ δὲ μάλιστα οἱ τραγικοὶ συγχέοντες τὰ ἔθνη, καθάπερ τοὺς Τρῶας καὶ τοὺς Μυσοὺς καὶ τοὺς Λυδοὺς 'Φρύγας' προσαγορεύουσιν, οὕτω καὶ τοὺς Λυκίους 'Κᾶρας'.
>
> The poets, especially the tragedians, confuse the races, by which they call the Trojans, Mysians and Lydians 'Phrygians', and in this manner the Lycians 'Carians'.

Mette's elevation of this to a fragment of Aeschylus' *Kares* (F144b) is perhaps a little disingenuous; it is at most a testimonium. Indeed, Strabo, whilst giving specific instances of confusion of *ethne*, does not specify here which tragedians he means; at 14.5.16, however, he specifically names Sophocles as 'in the way of tragedians' (τραγικῶς) calling the Lycians 'Carians'. This passage strongly suggests that Strabo had seen several examples of this confusion (though I know of no other instance in surviving tragedy of mistaking Lycians for Carians). Nonetheless, it is necessary to ask why the tragedians, certainly Sophocles and possibly Aeschylus, should confuse the two races. Strabo seems to be saying pretty clearly that the confusion of *ethne* is as much a matter of sheer carelessness as anything else. But here he seems to be writing without a historical perspective. Certainly, it seems possible that there is a reason why the Trojans (e.g. Eur. *Tr.* 18), Mysians and Lydians should be described as 'Phrygians'; it may preserve memory of a historical time when the kingdom of Phrygia controlled all three areas.[71]

Though taken seriously by some scholars,[72] the Cretan origin seems

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[71] See Hogarth 1925: 504-05.

[72] Bean 1978: 21. Bryce 1986: 29-32 considers the matter in an attempt to draw some his-

rather implausible.[73] It probably derives from a meld in the Greek mind[74] between contacts between Minoan Crete and the Lycians,[75] and the connections with Miletos of both the Lycians (p. 219) and the Minoans.[76] Most likely, the Lycians were in origin an Anatolian people, since they spoke their own 'Indo-European' language closely related to Luwian and Hittite, and probably descended from the former;[77] and they probably entered Anatolia across the Bosphoros along with the Hittites[78] in the second half of the third millennium.[79]

These proto-Lycians were almost certainly those people known as the Lukka[80] who appear in various Late Bronze Age texts, including the records of the Hittites, in the late second millennium,[81] and who seem to have been a geographic, ethnic and cultural, but not a political, union.[82] Madduwatta seems to have established his authority over the entire area—he is accused of seizing Zumanti, Wallarimma, Iyalanti, Zumarri, Mutamutassa, Attarimma, Suruta and Hursanassa (*CTH* 47, rev. 29, 30), thus his expansion seems to have been into northern Caria and eastern Lycia (for the lo-

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torical conclusions; cf. Bryce 1995: 1162.

[73] Frei 1993: 90 calls it 'unhistorisch'.

[74] See now Georges 1994: 70 on the Greek imposition of their own traditions on the Lycians.

[75] See Melas 1988; cf. Metzler 1996.

[76] Recent excavations at Miletos have provided good evidence for a Minoan settlement at the site; I am grateful to A.M. Greaves for this information.

[77] For the relationship of Lycian to Luwian and Hittite, see: Pedersen 1945; Tritsch 1950; Laroche 1957-1958; Gusmani 1960; Laroche 1960; Houwink ten Cate 1961: 51-86; Laroche 1967; Laroche 1988: 181-84; most recently Neumann 1990. Tritsch 1968: 135 suggests that Hittite, Luwian and Lycian were variations of a single original language, brought about as the people speaking it spread across Anatolia.

[78] See most recently: Astour 1989; Gurney 1989: 82; Lloyd 1989: 35-36.

[79] Mellaart 1981; Yakar 1981.

[80] On the Lukka/Lycia equation see now Houwink ten Cate 1961: 195-96; Bryce 1986: 3; Neumann 1988; Bryce 1992: 129; Kolb, Kupke 1992: 10; Steiner 1993: 123-25; Mellink 1995a: 34; Carruba 1996: 28-30. On the Lukka generally see Bryce 1986: 3-23; Steiner 1993; Mellink 1995a: 34-37.

[81] References to Lukka (with dates; information from Bryce 1986: 8-10): Breasted 1906: 243 sec. 579 (*c.* 1213-1204); Knudtzon 1915: no. 38 (*c.* 1350), tr. Bryce 1982a: 43-44; Gardiner 1966: P40-P53 (*c.* 1300-1275); *CTH* 47 (*c.* 1450-1400), tr. Bryce 1982a: 33-38; 61 (*c.* 1325-1300), tr. Götze 1933; 76 (*c.* 1300-1275), tr. Friedrich 1930: 50-82; 82 (*c.* 1282-1250); 142 (*c.* 1450), tr. Garstang, Gurney 1959: 121-23; 181 (*c.* 1275-1250), tr. Bryce 1982a: 56-60; 182 (*c.* 1250-1220), tr. Garstang, Gurney 1959: 114-15, also Hoffner 1982: 130-37; 242; 255 (*c.* 1250-1220), tr. Schuler 1957: 24; 378 (*c.* 1325-1300), tr. Götze 1969: 396; *KUB* 42 11.ii.24-27; *RS* 20.238 (*c.* 1200), tr. Nougayrol *et al.* 1968: 87-89 no. 24; to Bryce's references should now be added the Yalburt Monument (see Mellink 1972a: 171; Laroche 1976: 17-18; Özgüç, Temizer 1988: pls. 85-95; Hawkins 1990: 305-14), the Südburg inscription from Hattusa (Hawkins 1990: 313 n. 57) and the Bronze Tablet (Otten 1988). There is also a reference in the Obelisk Inscription from Byblos (*c.* 2000) which is claimed by Carruba 1996: 36 to be to a Lycian.

These dates are those of the current orthodox chronology. Under the 'New Chronology' for the Bronze Age and early Iron Age being advocated by some scholars (James *et al.* 1991; Rohl 1995)—with which I have some sympathy—these dates would have to lowered by some centuries.

[82] See Bryce 1979: 2.

cation of these sites, see pp. 216-19), but other than this they seem to have been a disunited group of city-states.[83]

Where the Lukka Lands were precisely is an open question, since there is very little archaeological evidence from Lycia for the LBA. Even sites at which there has been proper excavation (e.g. Xanthos, Limyra) have produced little or no LBA material; this has led some to conclude that there is no support for the common equation of the Lukka Lands with Lycia, that the Lukka Lands were located in western Caria, and that settlement of Lycia did not take place until *c.* 1000.[84] Whilst accepting that the centre of gravity of the Lukka Lands, such as it was, probably did lie in Caria,[85] a depopulated Lycia seems unlikely and it does seem possible that there is evidence in some Late Bronze Age records to suggest that the Lukka Lands encompassed what later became Lycia. A letter from Hammurabi, king of Ugarit in the thirteenth century (*RS* 20.238),[86] states that he has placed his fleet off the coast of Lukka. Astour has suggested that the purpose was "to defend the passage from the Aegean to the Mediterranean" from the Sea Peoples;[87] strategic considerations make Lycia more likely in this context than Caria.[88]

A number of reasons might be put forward for the absence of LBA evidence. First, no systematic survey for Bronze Age remains has yet been conducted. Mellink[89] has pointed out that the sort of settlement mounds thought typical of LBA settlement are caused by mudbrick and plaster construction, and would be absent where timber and stone are the building materials, and furthermore, the deposition of alluvial material in Lycia is such that the Church of St. Nicholas in Myra, still in use as late as the eleventh century A.D.,[90] was buried about five metres down, which suggests that LBA levels in the settlements in the plain may be considerably lower (and

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[83] Steiner 1993: 134; Carruba 1996: 26 and n. 10.

[84] E.g. Bryce 1986: 2, 6-8. Bryce 1986: 26 suggests that all name equations between Lukka states and later Lycian cities (for which see pp. 215-18) are the result of Lukka settlers bringing the names with them c. 1000.

[85] Note that the Lukka's presence in Caria is not usually in question, only their presence in Lycia; Mellaart 1982: 376, however, places Lukka in the Propontis region in north-western Anatolia, but this seems very unlikely, not least because of the fleet from Ugarit.

[86] Text and translation in Nougayrol *et al.* 1967: 87-89, no. 24; see Keen 1993a: 73-74 on this passage.

[87] Astour 1965: 255; cf. Mellink 1995a: 35. The Lukka are numbered among the Sea Peoples in the reign of Merenptah; Breasted 1906: 243, no. 579. Piratical raids by the Lukka against Alašija (if Alašija = Cyprus) and Egypt, mentioned in a letter to the pharaoh Akhenaton (Knudtzon 1915: no. 38; Kühne 1973: 87-88 n. 438) may have been more likely to have been launched from Lycia than Caria. For the Lukka in the Sea Peoples, see Sandars 1985: 36-37, 111-12, 143.

[88] Keen 1993a: 73-74, *contra* Bryce 1986: 7; see now Bryce 1992; cf. Carruba 1996: 29.

[89] Mellink 1995a: 40.

[90] Bean 1978: 129.

possibly even below the water table). And Bryce has suggested that the lack of evidence from Lycia may be due to the Lukka leading a nomadic existence.[91]

Whatever the truth of Bronze Age settlement is, the Lycians were certainly settled in Lycia at the latest by the early centuries of the first millennium.[92] For the first two centuries of this millennium no evidence exists at all, except for some tumulus tombs at Phellos mentioned below, which possibly date as early as *c.* 900, though they may be as late as 500.[93] Proceeding further into the millennium, however, there are fewer problems, not least because there can now be little dispute about the locations of settlements mentioned in literary sources, which begin to shed light by the seventh and sixth centuries.

Antiphellos' occupation in the early first millennium is confirmed by the discovery of some sixth-century architectural elements, which are now in Antalya Museum.[94] From Antiphellos' occupation it is reasonable to deduce that Phellos, the city for which Antiphellos was the port,[95] was also inhabited at about the same period, and this is confirmed by the tumulus tombs.

Fragments of Greek ceramics, including Rhodian and Attic black-figure material, have been found on the Lycian acropolis at Xanthos dating back as far as the eighth century,[96] and there are a number of other significant architectural features at this site, some perhaps this early. There are two buildings which are possibly dynastic residences; one predates the Persian conquest of *c.* 540, being eighth- or early seventh-century.[97] There is also a sanctuary, which in its earliest form predates the Persian conquest before being replaced in the late sixth century by a temple of three *cellae*, and remains of a sixth-century defensive wall.[98] At Patara Attic black-figure sherds of the sixth century have been found.[99]

At the Sanctuary of Leto associated with Xanthos, the Letoön, the platform upon which the later temples were built probably dates back to the seventh century, and the fifth- or fourth-century Temple of Artemis incorporates a large stone altar which is probably of pre-classical date. A spring discovered at the rear of the Hellenistic Temple of Leto can be dated by vo-

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[91] Bryce 1995: 1161; cf. 1974b: 403, with Tritsch 1950: 499.

[92] Bryce 1986: 1-2.

[93] Zahle 1975b; also Borchhardt, Wurster 1974, esp. 523-28 for another example at Seroiata.

[94] Habesos is given by Plin. *HN* 5.28.100 as the former name of Antiphellos (compare what he says of the original name of Patara), presumably a transliteration of a Greek version derived from an unknown Lycian original; cf. Bean 1978: 92-93.

[95] Bean 1978: 93; Bryce 1981: 86.

[96] Ceramics from Xanthos: Metzger 1972.

[97] Metzger 1963: 16-19.

[98] Sanctuary and temple: Metzger 1963: 29-32.

[99] Mellink 1988b: 120.

tive offerings back to the sixth century. There are other foundations in the Letoön underneath the later Hellenistic stoa, some of which are believed to date to the seventh century; there is certainly a sixth-century shrine here with associated archaic pottery.[100] At Pinara, Wurster and Wörrle have suggested that the pigeon-hole tombs that honeycomb the acropolis may be the oldest tombs in Lycia.[101] Further east, Limyra's occupation in Archaic times is evident from seventh century pottery found in a fill by the fourth-century south gate.[102]

From a number of sources (e.g. Timachidas F 1 *c*.23) it is known that Rhodes was active in Lycia in the seventh and sixth centuries. Phaselis is archaeologically-attested. Korydalla is mentioned by Hecataeus (F 246 *ap.* Steph. Byz. 376.15 *s.v.* Κορύδαλλα), as well as Xanthos (F 255), Patara (F 256) and Phellos (F 258), archaeologically-attested, a site called Sindia (F 257), probably the same as Isinda,[103] and Melanippion (F 259). At Ağva, a short way up the coast from Phaselis, a cemetery has been excavated with some remains dating to the sixth century;[104] the ethnicity of these inhabitants is unclear. They may have been connected with the Phrygians known to have been living on the Elmalı plain (p. 20).

It appears that a more than half-a-dozen of the cities of Classical Lycia had been settled by the time the Persians arrived. This is approximately a fifth of the cities attested in the Classical period, but many of the other sites may have been settled, but simply absent form the evidential record.

3 *Lycian 'national identity'*

As will be seen throughout this work, the existence of a political state called Lycia in the Classical period seems undeniable. There was also a clearly defined Lycian cultural area, identifiable as such by inscriptions in the Lycian language and by Lycian tombs. Zahle has defined rough borders for the cultural area, within which thirty-six of the thirty-seven sites that have inscriptions and ninety-six percent of the known tombs lie; it stretches from the Gulf of Telemessos (where the line between Lycian and Carian culture was quite blurred) to the Chelidonian Isles, and incorporates the Xanthos and Arykandos valleys and the cities of central Lycia, though not the Elmalı plain.[105] It also closely parallels the thousand-metre above

[100] Metzger *et al.* 1979. The archaeology of the Letoön buildings is fully dealt with in Bourgarel, Metzger, Siebert 1992.
[101] Wurster, Wörrle 1978: 87. For an illustration see Önen 1990: 15 pl. 14.
[102] Mellink 1984: 452. Limyra is the only site in eastern Lycia to have yielded pre-Classical pottery, but this may well be a product of excavation patterns as much as any other factor.
[103] French 1994: 86.
[104] Özoral 1980.
[105] Zahle 1980: 41 fig. 1.

sea-level contour,[106] not extending much into the uplands of the Lycian peninsula. Within this area there was a vigorous people who had a unique form of architecture, and unique language, and minted unique coinage.[107]

Like many nations, the Lycians had a different name for themselves from that used by other peoples for them; they were the *Trm̃mili*.[108] The use of this term outweighs other use of ethnics. Excluding coin inscriptions, the ethnic of a Lycian city appears in only fourteen instances in the known Lycian inscriptions; *Trm̃mili* is used twenty-one times (of course not every occasion may refer to an individual). It is also extremely rare that a Greek or Roman literary source identifies a Lycian as anything other than a 'Lycian'.[109] *Trm̃mili* was also used, in changed forms, by the Persians and Babylonians for the people of Lycia (p. 86), and was known to the Greeks, in the form Τερμίλαι or Τρεμιλεῖς (Hdt. 1.173.3; Hecat. F 10; Steph. Byz. 633.15 *s.v.* Τρεμίλη),[110] and Herodotus' account is that it was still in use by Lycia's neighbours; the Greeks, however, preferred to use a name derived from the Hittite term *Lukka*,[111] though they had long forgotten its origins and instead devised the mythical eponymous hero Lykos to explain it.[112] Other traditions on the origins of the name are to be found in Antoninus Liberalis (*Met.* 35.3) and Alexander Polyhistor (F 137 *ap.* Steph. Byz. 633.15-634.1 *s.v.* Τρεμίλη);[113] but etymologies that give a Greek derivation of Λυκία are, as Bryce has repeatedly demonstrated,[114] false. The Lycians, moreover, never used the term, and when using their own language retained their own place names for states such as Xanthos and Phellos, rather than the names the Greeks had given them.[115]

As further evidence of Lycian nationalism, Jones cites their resistance to Greek colonizations in the area.[116] However, it is not known whether any attempts were made in the western part of Lycia, only that none were established; there would be few harbours not already occupied by the Lycians.[117]

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[106] Coulton 1993a: 79.

[107] As Meiggs and Lewis say, "the vigour of [the Lycians'] native dynasty is best represented by their coins" (Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI*, p. 283).

[108] For all references to *Trm̃mili* and words derived from it, such as *Trm̃mis*, the name for Lycia itself, see Melchert 1993a: 78-79.

[109] Larsen 1945: 72 goes too far in advancing this as evidence for a Lycian federation; p. 179.

[110] See Ruge 1934: 778-79; Carruba 1964-1965: 286-89; Eichner 1983: 64-66.

[111] Garstang, Gurney 1959: 81; Bryce 1983a: 7; 1986: 32; 1992: 129; Kolb, Kupke 1992: 10; Frei 1993: 92; Carruba 1996: 28-30.

[112] Hdt. 1.173.3; 7.92; Str. 12.8.5 [573]; 14.3.10 [667]; Pompon. 1.14; Diod. 5.56.1; Paus. 1.19.3; Steph. Byz. 421.10 *s.v.* Λυκία.

[113] See Bryce 1986: 23.

[114] Bryce 1986: 23; 1990-1991: 145; 1992: 129.

[115] Bryce 1986: 211.

[116] Jones 1971: 96.

[117] Bryce 1983b: 33.

How much of a threat the Rhodian colonies posed to western Lycia is unclear. Kleoboulos of Lindos fought a war against 'Lycia' some time in the sixth century[118] (Timocritus F 1 = Timachidas F 1 *c*.23). Metzger has suggested that the so-called 'Lycian' acropolis at Xanthos, which seems not to have been settled before *c*. 700, was occupied in response to threats from Rhodian Greeks.[119]

Bryce has also suggested that the failure of Lydia to conquer Lycia may possibly have been due to vigorous national resistance,[120] though it is probably, as Bryce himself suspects, more to do with lack of Lydian interest (p. 71).

4 *The strategic significance of the Lycian coastline*[121]

To understand the history of Lycia, it is necessary to comprehend that the coastline was a vital stretch of the military sea-route from the Aegean to the eastern Mediterranean. Due to limitations of provisions and sea-worthiness, the trireme of the Classical period was unable to operate far out of sight of land, and always had to put in to shore at night; the maximum daily range under normal circumstances seems about two hundred and thirty-six kilometres.[122] This is more-or-less the distance by sea between Telemessos and Phaselis, and there is no alternative route shoreward route; go south from the Lycian coast and the first thing one will hit is Egypt. So it is apparent that any fleet attempting to travel from the eastern Mediterranean into the Aegean, or *vice versa*, would certainly have to travel along the coast of Lycia, and in all probability put in to shore in the area. So, conversely, any power with control over the Lycian coast could, if not deny that passage to an opposing fleet, at least know exactly where that enemy fleet would be going. Lycia thus finds itself in the same strategic position as Corcyra in the west (Thuc. 1.36.2).

'Control' in antiquity does not, of course, mean the establishment of an occupying force.[123] It is clear from many of the occasions dealt with in this work that control was established by a demonstration of military power to persuade the inhabitants of Lycia that siding with a certain power rather

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118 On this see now Frei 1993, 91. Date of Kleoboulos' war: Bryce 1986: 99 n. 1.

119 Metzger 1963: 77-78. For Rhodian activity in Lycia, see now Frei 1993: 89-90.

120 Bryce 1983b: 32-33.

121 Further on the material covered in this section, Keen 1993a.

122 For full argumentation of these points, see Keen 1993a: 71-73; also Gomme 1937: 190-203, esp. 192-93 (still the definitive work on this aspect of naval warfare); Morrison, Coates 1986: 94-106.

123 De Ste. Croix 1972: 48, discussing general factors of Athenian naval power, expresses this most succinctly: "When I use the expression 'base' in this connection [trireme operations], I mean no more than a friendly or at least neutral port, or even shore".

than its enemy would be the wisest course of action. In the case of Lycia, the need to control many areas was further reduced by the inhospitable nature of much of the coastline (suggested by the number of wrecks),[124] and by the shortage of sources of fresh water (p. 21). As Bryce notes,[125] there were few opportunities on the Lycian coast for the establishment of harbour towns, and one suspects that those that did present themselves had already been taken by the Lycians.

The issue is somewhat complicated, however, by the matter of the island Megiste (modern Megisti, Meis or Castellorizo) opposite Antiphellos. Although there is no archaeological evidence known from the site of a pre-Hellenistic date, this island is recorded in Ps.-Scylax (100), though as a *nesos*, not as a *polis*,[126] was certainly used by Rhodes as an important base during the Hellenistic age (Liv. 37.22.5, 24.12, 45.2), and in more modern days was a regular stopover point for the Royal Navy. This last example must be treated with extreme care, however, as there is a great gulf between the Greek trireme and the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century sailing ship. Moreover, Beaufort noted that Megiste was dependent for supplies upon the mainland.[127] Nonetheless, it is certainly possible that Megiste could have been used as a base off the coast of Lycia in a similar manner to the Athenian use of Kythera during the Peloponnesian War, and it may be that incidents when fleets seem to have had free movement along the coast of Lycia, despite nominal control of that coast by their opponents (such as in one of the wars of Alexander's Successors[128]) may indicate that these fleets had been able to make use of Megiste.[129]

Another attraction of a presence in Lycia might be control over merchant routes.[130] Archaeological evidence suggests that a trade route existed in antiquity that came along the coast of the Levant and the Mediterranean coast of Anatolia, and it has recently been argued that there was a direct trade route from Lycia to Egypt.[131] This route seems to have existed

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124 There are two Bronze Age wrecks off the Lycian coast (Bass *et al.* 1967; Bass 1987), one Hellenistic, three certainly Byzantine and one possibly, and one unknown (Parker 1992: nos. 208-11, 537, 538, 1193, 1194); there is only one wreck known along the coast of Pamphylia, mediaeval in date (Parker 1992: no. 42).

125 Bryce 1983b: 33.

126 For Ps.-Scylax's site-classifications: Hansen 1996a: 30-32; Flensted-Jensen, Hansen 1996: 140-43, 146-47.

127 Beaufort 1818: 9.

128 In the war between the Successors that began in 315, Antigonos Monopthalmos held Lycia, but evidently not strongly enough to keep the fleet of Seleukos, which set out from the eastern Mediterranean, out of the Aegean (Diod. 19.60.4). If Agesilaos' expedition against Kisthene was in this area (pp. 140-41), this would be show further interest in securing the offshore islands.

129 Further on Megiste, Zimmermann 1993.

130 The importance of the area for the traffic of merchantmen is emphasized by Childs 1981: 67; see also Hermipp. fr. 63.12-13, 22-23.

131 Zimmermann 1992b.

in the Late Bronze Age, and to have persisted into the Archaic and Hellenistic and Roman periods.[132] Control of Lycia might provide opportunities to disrupt this trade route (which seems to have been an Athenian fear in the 430s; p. 127), or to prevent such disruption; but merchant traffic was not open to being monopolized in the way that military traffic was.

The trade route was, however, important for the passage of cultural contacts, particularly with the Greek world. Most visitors from Greece to Lycia, even if they did not come themselves specifically to trade, would arrive as St. Paul did (*Act. Ap.* 21.1, 27.5), on a merchant ship.

In any case, this does not affect the overall strategic importance of the coastline. This can be seen in examples from as early as the Late Bronze Age down to the seventeenth century A.D.,[133] most clearly in the invasion of Lycia by Alexander in 332, whose specific purpose according to Arrian (*Anab.* 1.24.3) was to deny naval bases to the Persians.[134] Later, Megiste (by then called Kastellorizzo) was seized in the fourteenth century A.D. by the Knights of St. John to protect their position on Rhodes against the Turks. In the seventeenth century A.D., it is apparent that the Medici of Florence concentrated most of their naval warfare against the Ottoman Turks along the Mediterranean rather than Aegean coast of Anatolia.[135]

The strategic importance of Lycia therefore shaped the policies of the competing imperial powers in the Aegean towards Lycia's inhabitants during the Achaemenid period, and by so doing, shaped the history of the Lycians themselves.

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[132] Bronze Age: Bass 1987: 699; 1991. Archaic period: Cook 1946: 9. For the Hellenistic period the evidence is the route of the Kyrenia ship: Katzev 1980: 42; Spathari 1987. For the Roman period, it may be noted that St. Paul changed ships on two occasions in Lycia, at Patara and at Myra (*Act. Ap.* 21.1, 27.5).

[133] For a listing of examples from the Late Bronze Age to the end of the fourth century: Keen 1993a: 73-77.

[134] Notwithstanding the objections to Arrian's account of Brunt 1976: 101 n. 3; Bosworth 1980: 156; 1988: 50; see Keen 1993a: 76; 1996c. Alexander's plan to defeat the Persian fleet by land has already been stated by Arrian at 1.18.9 & 20.1.

[135] Fourteenth century: Kasperson 1966: 15; seventeenth century: Mason 1989: 86 & fig. 1.

CHAPTER THREE

LYCIAN POLITICAL STRUCTURES AND THE LYCIAN 'KINGS' AND 'NOBILITY'

The socio-economic background

History is, of course, more than the simple study of wars, rulers and dates; it is the study of people. In this respect, it is very difficult to write a proper history of the Lycians. One should clearly be asking questions about the level of urbanization and the structure of Lycian society, but such a project is severely hampered by the evidence. The Lycians provided no literature that can provide an insight into the life of the mass of the people, such as the Comedy of Athens, and it is questionable how much light the lost works on Lycia would shed upon the society of the Lycians, though it is significant that epichoric-period Lycian writers chose to write on their country in Lycian. It is possible to estimate that in antiquity Lycian population could be as great as 200,000,[1] though it was probably less in Achaemenid times. There is not even any good knowledge of the burial practices of the lower strata of society,[2] save perhaps for the pigeon-hole tombs at Pinara (p. 29); Pinara is, however, the only city with such tombs.

Herodotus provides the following information about Lycian customs (1.173.4):

> νόμοισι δὲ τὰ μὲν Κρητικοῖσι, τὰ δὲ Καρικοῖσι χρέωνται. ἓν δὲ τόδε ἴδιον νενομίκασι καὶ οὐδαμοῖσι ἄλλοισι συμφέρονται ἀνθρώπων· καλέουσι ἀπὸ τῶν μητέρων ἑωυτοὺς καὶ οὐκὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πατέρων. (5) εἰρομένου δὲ ἑτέρου τὸν πλησίον τίς εἴη, καταλέξει ἑωυτὸν μητρόθεν καὶ τῆς μητρὸς ἀνανεμέεται τὰς μητέρας. καὶ ἢν μέν γε γυνὴ ἀστὴ δούλῳ συνοικήσῃ, γενναῖα τὰ τέκνα νενόμισται· ἢν δὲ ἀνὴρ ἀστός, καὶ ὁ πρῶτος αὐτῶν, γυναῖκα ξείνην ἢ παλλακὴν ἔχῃ, ἄτιμα τὰ τέκνα γίνεται.

> They use some Cretan customs, and some Carian. But in this one thing they hold a custom of their own and conform to no other men. For they name themselves after their mothers and not after their fathers. If asked by his neighbour who he is, he shall account himself from his mother, and then name the mothers of his mother. And if a citizen woman should cohabit

[1] Bean 1978: 19.
[2] Zahle 1983: 29.

with a slave, the children are considered of free birth; but if a citizen man, even the foremost of them, has a foreign wife or mistress, the children are without honour.

Later authors elaborate. Aristotle says that 'in ancient times they were ruled by women' (ἐκ παλαιοῦ γυναικοκρατοῦνται, F 611.43 Rose), Nicolaus of Damascus that 'they left their inheritances to their daughters, not to their sons' (τάς τε κληρονομίας ταῖς θυγατράσι λείπουσιν, οὐ τοῖς υἱοῖς, F 103k), and Plutarch that 'it was the custom for the Xanthians to be called not after the father, but after the mother' (νόμος ἦν τοῖς Ξανθίοις μὴ πατρόθεν ἀλλ' ἀπὸ μητέρων χρηματίζειν, *Mor.* 248d)

This is one of the most debated aspects of Lycian society. Is there any truth in Herodotus' statement? It is hardly borne out by inscriptional evidence, and one scholar has recently said that the account is "demonstrably false"?[3] Given the incomplete nature of the evidence, such an assertion is perhaps to take matters too far. If there is any truth in the story, what statement were the men of Lycia (for even if Lycian society was matrilineal it was certainly not matriarchal, despite Aristotle) making about their own identity? If it is a fiction, what point is Herodotus trying to make about the Lycians? Or is he in fact, as recently argued,[4] making a point about the Greeks, constructing fictive Lycians as an example of what Greeks were not? Is it in fact a comment on lax sexual morality in Lycia, such that a Lycian could not be sure who his father was? The nature of the evidence for Lycian society is such that no hard-and-fast answers to this problem can be found.[5]

Only occasionally do the lower strata appear in the literary record, one such occasion being the note of the eighty families who escaped the destruction of Xanthos in the Persian attack (Hdt. 1.176.3; p. 75). One interesting aspect that can be illustrated, is the matter of Lycian hairstyles. Polyaenus (5.42) notes that Charimenes managed to escape across Lycia by putting on false hair, whilst the Aristotelian *Oeconomica* (2.2.14 [1348a]) tells a story of Mausolos' hyparch taxing the Lycians' hair length. Together these two stories suggest that the Lycians typically wore their hair long. Long-haired Lycians can be seen in some relief sculptures,[6] on a sarcophagus from Limyra,[7] on the coins of Kheriga and Kherẽi,[8] and on a silver-head vase now in the British Museum (p. 70). Beyond these examples,

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[3] Cartledge 1993: 77.

[4] Cartledge 1993: 76-77.

[5] For more detailed discussions of the topic of Lycian matrilineality, see Pembroke 1965; Bryce 1986: 143-50; Carruba 1990. Note the comment of Frei 1996: 48 on all three: "Die drei Autoren gelangen zu sehr verschiedenartigen Lösungverschlägen".

[6] Borchhardt 1975c: 117.

[7] Borchhardt 1969-1970: pl. 36.1.

[8] Mørkholm, Zahle 1976: 71-72.

the literary record fails us.

Zahle has argued that there may in the numerical distribution of tombs amongst the four types (pp. 182-84) be found a reflection of a fairly clearly defined and rigid political and social stratification;[9] the heroön-tombs belonged to the families of the highest social standing, sarcophagi to those lower down the scale and house-tombs to those at the bottom. There are, however, fundamental problems with trying to reconstruct social history out of the Lycian tombs. Tombs were the preserve of the richer sections of Lycian society, so if there was a defined hierarchy within the tomb owners then these were élites within an élite. Bryce, studying the names recorded in the Lycian inscriptions with a view to seeing whether family associations can be detected to support Zahle's argument,[10] notes that where family connections can be traced, sarcophagus-owners seem to have come from families with an already established tradition of tomb-ownership.[11] His reconstruction of family units in Lycia rests on the assumption that the same name in different inscriptions relates, if not to the same individual, at least to individuals of the same family group, an assumption he admits is 'unprovable';[12] but it seems possible, and the fact that this seems to point to family units with connections with two or more cities is quite compatible with inferences of upper-class mobility within Lycia that may be drawn from the coinage record (pp. 50-51). The important point is that the evidence is not quite as neat as perhaps thought; some of these family units cut across the divide between sarcophagi and house-tombs. Bryce himself concludes that there "may well have been important exceptions to J. Zahle's proposition",[13] and it seems that the argument for social distinction on this basis is a weak one.

The two most important tomb types are pillar tombs and monumental heroa. Pillar tombs seem to have been exclusively used by leading dynasts.[14] Zahle argues that what he describes as ordinary dynasts and 'nobility' were buried in pillar tombs. The heroa, according to his argument, were the tombs of what he calls 'super-rulers', individuals a stage above the average dynasts.[15] 'Super-rulers' did exist in as much as the rulers of Xanthos dominated the rest of Lycia (p. 58); but a rigid hierarchy linked with the tomb forms is less plausible.

In the case of Xanthos, there are simply too few pillar tombs for regular

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9 Zahle 1983: 29-30, 39-63, 108-09, 142-43, 163-64; cf, Zimmermann 1992a: 19.

10 Bryce 1991: 73-85; cf. further Bryce 1986: 115-71 for social relations deduced from epigraphic evidence.

11 Bryce 1991: 84.

12 Bryce 1991: 83.

13 Bryce 1991: 84.

14 Zahle 1980: 38; 1983: 32-33, 64-65, 107-11.

15 Zahle 1983: 107-11. Zahle clearly separates coin-issuers from the general 'nobility'.

use to have been made of them by a 'nobility' beyond the coin-issuers, and this seems likely to have been the case for Lycia as a whole; moreover, the heroa are too few and too concentrated in time for this scheme to carry much conviction, all belonging to the first quarter of the fourth century. Zahle cites two fifth-century examples,[16] one at Xanthos[17] and one at Apollonia,[18] but the Xanthos example is almost certainly an actual hero-cult centre, and it seems quite possible that the same is true of Apollonia.[19] Zahle suggests that the heroa were family tombs (cf. p. 185); but, though the Nereid Monument did have a number of couches inside,[20] generally each ruling dynast would want to erect his own monument to himself and his achievements.

In any case, even if, as Zahle suggests, these tombs first came into use in the mid-fifth century, there are not enough heroa for the 'kings' of Xanthos, best candidates for being 'super-rulers'. Moreover, most of the heroa belong to a period when the pillar tomb had gone out of fashion, so one can hardly argue for two tiers of leadership when only one tier appears to be being buried at any one time. Furthermore, it seems strange that Kheriga, who led the Lycian resistance to Athenian invasion in 430/29 (*TAM* i 44.*a*.42-5; pp. 131-33; note also the tone of his Greek epigram [*SEG* 42 1245.7-12 = *TAM* i 44.*c*.26-31]), was buried in a pillar-tomb (p. 130) and therefore, on Zahle's argument, not a 'super-ruler', whilst Erbbina, who had difficulty retaining hold of Xanthos (p. 142), was buried in a heroön (p. 146), and therefore *was* a 'super-ruler'. Nor, though the hereditary principle seems to have been important in determining who were dynasts, does there seem to have been an exclusive dynastic class within the Lycian élite. In general the attempt to draw conclusions about Lycia's socio-political structures from a typology of Lycian tombs seems unproductive.[21]

It must be emphasized that these conclusions concern the upper strata of Lycian society, those wealthy enough to construct monumental tombs for themselves.[22] Zahle's work on the distribution of tombs, taking into account the number of tombs at a site, their distribution amongst the types, and the number carrying sculpture, in combination with the number of inscriptions at a site and whether it is attested on coinage as a mint or in the literary record, has lead to the conclusion that the most important city in Lycia in the Classical period was Xanthos, with Phellos, Limyra and

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16 Zahle 1983: 13-14.
17 Metzger 1963: 49-61.
18 Kjeldsen, Zahle 1976.
19 See Keen 1992a: 55-56; 1996a: 235.
20 Demargne 1981: 587; 1987: 190; Childs, Demargne 1989: 253.
21 See now the critique of such views in Keen 1995.
22 See Bryce 1986: 129.

Patara being only slightly less important.[23] This, however, can only reveal where the centres of wealth and power were; nothing can be deduced from the tombs about, for instance, overall population trends.

Even the assumption that the masses of the population would tend to concentrate in the most powerful cities cannot be demonstrated from the archaeological evidence. Pinara has ninety-one monumental tombs (not including the pigeon-hole tombs mentioned above, p. 29), whilst Xanthos has only forty-five from the same chronological period;[24] this would seem to imply that Pinara had a larger population of the wealthier strata than Xanthos. At Xanthos, however, seventeen of the tombs are sculptured, whilst at Pinara only one is.[25] So whilst there might have been[26] more people at Pinara who might be described as 'upper class', those at Xanthos were on the whole wealthier.[27] If therefore population does not follow wealth even amongst the upper strata, this cannot be expected amongst the lower.[28]

The archaeological evidence for other aspects of Lycian everyday life and society is minimal; there is for instance a great difficulty in defining the territories of individual cities. This picture will undoubtedly change in the near future with the current work of the Kyaneai survey, which concentrates upon settlement patterns at Kyaneai and in the surrounding area, and the recent excavation of fourth-century Lycian houses at Limyra.[29] This material, however, has yet to be fully published, and until it is much of the socio-economic background to Lycia must remain enigmatic and what studies can be made concern the upper strata.

The nature of Lycian rule[30]

> It may be helpful to think of the administrative system in Lycia in this period as a microcosm of the satrapal system to which Lycia belonged. Within the satrapy Xanthus provided the administrative link between the satrapal headquarters and the various districts of Lycia, where regional administrators exercised the most immediate control.

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23 Zahle 1980: 48.

24 Zahle 1983. The figure for Xanthos includes two at Patara, probably at this point part of the Xanthian polity; p. 60 & n. 196.

25 Zahle 1980: 42.

26 It should not be forgotten that any such guesses do not take into account the possibility that the pattern of survival of tombs may not represent their original distribution; Zahle 1980: 39 suggests that as much as twenty-five percent of the tombs have not survived or have yet to be rediscovered.

27 Although possibly society at Xanthos was more polarized than that at Pinara.

28 On the problems of possible distortion in the evidence generally, Zahle 1980: 39-40.

29 Limyran houses: Seyer 1988; Mellink 1991: 142-43.

30 The following section deals with material previously covered in Keen (forthcoming [a]), of which this is a reworked version.

Thus Bryce[31] characterizes the system of rule in Achaemenid Lycia. This section intends to examine the evidence to see how far his contention can be upheld. It is clear enough that there was a single pattern of rule throughout Lycia, the 'dynastic' system,[32] and a uniformity of political structures, if not necessarily a sharing of them, is implied by the existence of the *Lykiôn Politeia* (p. 5). A series of questions need to be asked about it. When did it begin? Were there many petty tyrants of individual cities[33] or a larger Lycian state?[34] What was the nature of the relationship between the dynasts—was it federal or feudal?

Bryce has convincingly suggested that before the Persian conquest the political entity known as Lycia extended no further than the Xanthos valley and that even that area was perhaps not very coherent, despite the fact that Lycian culture extended much further; this situation, he suggests, dated back to Homeric times.[35] He has further argued that the system of rule found in Lycia in the Classical period was largely instituted by the Persians on their conquest.[36] There is, however, no evidence to support this,[37] and it would be untypical of the arrangements made by Persians in captured provinces.[38] Persian policy was often to preserve the forms of native rule to one degree or another;[39] in the major states such as Babylon and Egypt, the Persian King took upon himself the monarchy,[40] whilst lesser rulers remained as Persian vassals. It should be noted, however, that Persian rule was conducive to monarchies, as is shown by the emergence of tyrannies amongst the Greeks of Asia Minor.[41]

Material evidence supports a different conclusion from Bryce's. A large building on the Lycian acropolis at Xanthos, destroyed in a fire *c.* 540 (probably the fire that ended the Persian attack), is described as a dynastic residence.[42] What survives of this building are thick walls with neither exterior nor interior doors; this, it is suggested, indicates a fortified residence of which the living quarters must have been on an upper storey. It is not

31 Bryce 1995: 1164.
32 Zimmermann 1992a: 16.
33 So Hornblower 1994b: 218: "Classical Lycia was highly balkanized under a plethora of local dynasts".
34 In general on Lycian unity: Bryce 1983b.
35 Bryce 1983b: 32; 1986: 13, 100.
36 Bryce 1983b: 33.
37 As noted by Zimmermann 1992a: 21 n. 34.
38 See Tuplin 1987a: 111 n. 14.
39 E.g. the retention of tyrants in the Greek cities of Asia Minor (Persian-backed, but a Greek form of government; Austin 1990: 299-305) and the Kings of Cilicia as Persian vassals (Xen. *Cyr.* 7.4.1-3; cf. 8.6.8; Dandamaev 1989: 24 n. 4).
40 Babylon: Dandamaev 1989: 55; Egypt: Dandamaev 1989: 76-77.
41 On the tyrannies, see Austin 1990.
42 Metzger 1963: 16-19.

an unreasonable guess that such a fortified building on the acropolis (separate from the acropolis defences themselves) might be a palace or residence of some kind, which implies the presence of a palace-owner.

Furthermore, the existence in other central-Lycian cities of pillar tombs dating to the late sixth century, at Trebendai,[43] Isinda and Trysa,[44] perhaps suggests that this system of burial, already found in Xanthos in mid-century (the 'Lion Tomb', usually dated to *c.* 540-525, although possibly pre-Persian)[45] was indigenous to Lycia (and also perhaps that the central-Lycian dynasts were influenced by Xanthos). Although the Persians might have instituted a new form of rule at the chief city of Lycia, they are less likely to have pursued such a restructuring down to the level of lesser cities; nor are they likely to have instituted a unique method of burial.

In Homer's account, for what it is worth, he names only Lycia and the Xanthos river (*not* the city);[46] nonetheless, he does speak of kings or lords of Lycia as a whole. Timachidas (F *c.*23) records a war fought by Kleoboulos of Lindos against 'Lycia' (p. 29); but it is unclear if this was a Lycian nation-state, or simply Lycians living in the east of the peninsular, where the Rhodian colonies were located and therefore where a Rhodian war in Lycia would most likely have been fought. Lycia appears as an undifferentiated mass in Herodotus' list of Darius I's tribute districts; but this should probably not be used as evidence for Lycian unity.[47]

Possibly the conclusive evidence for Lycian unity[48] is that the Lycians appear as a single entry on the fifth-century Athenian Tribute Lists, as 'Lycians' (Λύκιοι: *IG* i³ 261.i.30; 262.v.33) or 'the Lycians and their dependencies' (Λύκιοι καὶ συν[τελ(εῖς)]: *IG* i³ 266.iii.34), and not as their constituent cities. Other central Lycian communities never appear in the tribute lists, though some fringe cities do. *Lykioi* may simply mean Xanthos;[49] the Athenians might be doing the same as Herodotus and other writers (p. 58), using 'Xanthian' and 'Lycian' as interchangeable. It may alternatively be the case that the Athenians were treating Lycia itself as a *polis*, in a similar manner to the description of the Persian empire as a *polis* by Xenophon (Xen. *Cyr.* 1.3.18, 4.25, 5.7).[50]

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[43] This site is usually known by its modern name of Gürses; the identification as Trebendai is made by Borchhardt 1975b: 82; accepted by Foss 1991: 334 and Buschmann (*TAVO* 15.2).

[44] Trebendai: Borchhardt 1975b: 81-82. Isinda: Akurgal 1941: 52-97; Deltour-Levie 1982: 172-74. Trysa: Akurgal 1941: 98-109; Deltour-Levie 1982: 87-98

[45] Akurgal 1941: 2, 18, 40, 100; 1955: 89 n. 15; Borchhardt 1975b: 85; Zahle 1982: 12. For the tomb generally, see Pryce 1928: B 286 fig. 176, pl. xviii; Demargne 1958: 29-33. For the possibility of its being pre-Persian, see Keen 1992a: 61.

[46] Bryce 1986: 13; see also Quattordio Moreschine 1983: 63ff..

[47] Hdt. 3.90. It is used as such by Bryce 1983b: 33.

[48] In general on Lycian unity: Bryce 1983b.

[49] Bean 1978: 25.

[50] See Hansen 1993: 20 & n. 142.

The formula *Lykioi kai synteleis* (*IG* i^3 266.iii.34) is very interesting and perplexing.[51] The identity of the *synteleis* is unclear. If *Lykioi* is meant to equal Xanthos, then perhaps the correct formulation should have been 'the Xanthians and their dependencies', which would make sense in the light of the belief that Xanthos was Lycia's capital (pp. 56-60). Elsewhere, it might be noted, the Lycians seem to be recorded jointly with the people of Telemessos (*IG* i^3 261.i.29; 262.v.32); so Telemessos might have been one of these *synteleis*. These appearances, however, are heavily restored (p. 119 n. 59), and so one should be careful about drawing conclusions from them, though Telemessos is absent from the Tribute List of 446/5. There may well have been a considerable number of these *synteleis*, since when recording some medium-sized joint payments in Caria the Athenians tended to list every member (e.g. the group of six recorded in the assessment decree of 425, *IG* i^3 71.i.111-19).

Childs puts forward two possible interpretations.[52] One is that the division between Lycians and *synteleis* represents a legal division between city-dwellers and *perioikoi* (p. 55). Alternatively, the use of *synteleis* represents an attachment to Lycia of other, 'secondary' areas for Athenian administrative purposes. The first seems highly unlikely; such an internal division would, as Bryce notes, be of no interest to the Athenians;[53] as Hahn points out, the distinction between city-dwellers and *perioikoi* is not noted in the Aramaic version of the Letoön Trilingual, which was the version for Lycia's then-overlords, the Persian empire.[54] It might, however, be worth mentioning the appearance of the word συντελῆται in a document from Isinda (*TAM* i 65.26), unfortunately so badly damaged as to be unintelligible.

The second interpretation is more plausible, though it is unlikely that these *synteleis* could be, as Jones has suggested, ethnically non-Lycian.[55] However, the suggestion that this was done for 'administrative' purposes implies that it was done by the Athenians, and does not represent any political reality; *synteleis* would then mean no more than 'paying together'.[56] Bryce certainly interprets it in this way, suggesting that these were "towns and districts ... within Lycian territory ... politically independent of it".[57] However, rather than create groupings of politically-unlinked states, Athens tended to break up political unions into separate states.[58] Moreover, if

51 Zimmermann 1992a: 22.
52 Childs 1981: 57-58.
53 Bryce 1986: 106.
54 Dupont-Sommer 1979: 161; Hahn 1981: 53.
55 Jones 1971: 97; cf. Bryce 1986: 105 n. 12.
56 Cf. Harp. *s.v.* συντελεῖς: οἱ συνδαπανῶντες καὶ συνεισφέροντες.
57 Bryce 1986: 105. Childs 1981: 59, seems not to believe this.
58 Davies 1984: 64. Reger 1997, does, however, state that "the Athenians encouraged the

the Athenians had arranged their tribute lists in this way, there would be many states in Caria that would have been grouped together; in fact they are listed separately. A common payment on the tribute lists means almost certainly some form of political link; Childs may well be correct when he suggests that the *synteleis* "represent the dependents of a dominant ruler".[59] He attempts to link the division between Lycians and *synteleis* with that between west-Lycian and east-Lycian coinage standards, by then in use,[60] but this seems overly neat. An alternative possibility is that the *synteleis* were Lycian dynasts and cities with the right to mint coinage (p. 54). In the other two appearances of Lycia on the tribute lists the *synteleis* are not mentioned, so it may be that their inclusion on the lists depended on whether the Athenian Hellenotamiai of that particular year, unable to perceive a significant difference between 'Xanthians' and 'Lycians', decided to mention them (but alternative explanations may exist).

A similar formulation, Βοττια[ῖοι καὶ σ(υντελεῖς)], is apparently used of the Bottiaeans in the same year's list, where usually the entry would usually be Σπαρτόλιοι.[61] It is equally unclear what the phrase means here, though it is tempting to see this as confirming that in other cases *Xanthioi* (the only reasonable parallel for *Spartolioi*) might be used rather than *Lykioi* in other instances. The idea is, however, unprovable, as Xanthos never appears on the Tribute Lists. Moreover, 'Lycians' does seem to recur, in the list for 452/1 (*IG* i³ 261.i.30),[62] when *Spartolioi* is also found (iv.26), whereas *Bottiaioi* never does. Finally, it has been pointed out that *Bottia*[*ioi kai s*] is restored on the basis of the entry for the Lycians,[63] and one must therefore treat the comparison with extreme care, since it may have no independent value.

The issue of the *synteleis* may be bound up with the civic identity of cities in Lycia (pp. 53-55).

In the later centuries of the Hellenistic period the cities of Lycia were

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creation of associations of independent neighbouring states ... to simplify the collection of tribute"—but I would prefer to see the paying together of such multipolate islands as Amorgos (*ATL* I, 468), Keos (*ATL* I, 500), Kos (*ATL* I, 509), etc., as the result of political relations within those islands which happened to be convenient for the Athenians.

[59] Childs 1981: 59.

[60] Childs 1981: 57-61; for the coinage division see pp. 11, 115-16.

[61] *IG* i³ 266.ii.19. See Flensted-Jensen 1995: 119.

[62] In the list for 451/0 it is wholly restored (p. 119 n. 59), and so not compelling evidence.

[63] Zahrnt 1971: 173 n. 135: "Βοττια[ῖοι και σ], wie die Herausgeber der *ATL* I 44 aufgrund ihren fehlerhaft erscheinender Angaben A.R. Rangabes lesen, ist (trotz der Erklärungsversuche in *ATL* I 178) sehr zweifelhaft: Der Ausdruck Bottiaioi würde an sich schon das Gebiet der Bottike umfassen, sofern es zu dieser Zeit neben Spartolos andere autonome Städte gab, *synteleis* würde man eher zu Spartolos erwarten. Die als Parallelle angeführten Λυκίοι και συν[beweisen nichts, da die Lykier überhaupt nur ein einziges Mal in den *ATL* verzeichnet sind". I owe this reference to my colleague in the Copenhagen Polis Centre, Pernille Flensted-Jensen.

bound together in a *koinon* (pp. 178-80); this has led to assumptions of a similar arrangement in the Classical period. Larsen in his treatment of the League in *Greek Federal States* cautiously notes:

> [E]ven ... the careful student [might suspect] that the Lycian Confederacy was Anatolian rather than Greek.[64]

In an earlier work, however, he assumed that the Hellenistic *koinon* was a direct descendant of one under the Achaemenids, the existence of which he felt was "practically certain".[65] Larsen is by no means the first to have made such an assumption. In the nineteenth century Head said "it is clear that here existed some sort of federation between these rulers [the Lycian dynasts], more or less under Persian suzerainty" and described Classical coinage as 'early federal'; Beloch assumed a link through the Persian and Ptolemaic periods; Jones believed in a Classical Lycian "federation of princes"; Bean said that the Lycians "had an instinct for union and federation, and formed a Lycian nation when elsewhere the Greek world was made up of individual city-states"; more recently, Childs characterizes Lycia as "a hierarchy or federation under a principal ruler".[66] The position is most clearly put in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*:[67]

> Even in the 4th cent., when the cities were ruled, under Persian supervision, by dynasts, the uniformity of their coinage, on which the emblem of the triskelion often occurs, hints at some form of confederation.

The use of terms such as 'federal' or 'confederation' is questionable. If they are being accurately applied, then the Lycians would be amongst the earliest in the Mediterranean world to create a federal state; for it is difficult to credit that the system of rule that can be traced was not in place by *c.* 500 at the latest. However, as Bryce points out,[68] there is no firm evidence for any federal structure in Lycia before the second decade of the second century (cf. pp. 178-80, where the case for a confederacy in the early Hellenistic period is examined).

Circumstantial evidence has been advanced for this Classical-period federation. Larsen argues that the identification of man as a 'Lycian' is evidence for a federation—but this is certainly untenable in the Classical period, and probably so in the Hellenistic (p. 179).

The triskeles or triskelion, a characteristic design found on a wide range of Lycian coinage, was considered by Head to be the symbol of this confed-

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[64] Larsen 1968: 241.
[65] Larsen 1945: 73-74 (quote from p. 74).
[66] Head 1886: 571, repeated in Head 1911: 688; Beloch 1925: 396 n. 2; Jones 1971: 96; Bean 1978: 20; Childs 1981: 58.
[67] Bean, Mitchell 1996: 895 (reprinting Bean 1970: 627).
[68] Bryce 1986: 102.

eracy.[69] This device was certainly the dominating reverse type on the mid-fifth-century coinage of Kuprlli,[70] yet his successor Kheriga used it only once (on a coin issued in Kuprlli's lifetime).[71] After *c.* 430 the device no longer appears on west-Lycian coinage, only being found on coinage minted in the east of the country.[72] This too must have political significance, but again it is unclear what. Was the triskeles an east-Lycian symbol adopted by Kuprlli as a symbol of the unity of Lycia under his reign (for which see pp. 112-18)? If so, why was it abandoned by Kheriga? Whatever the case, it was western Lycia, in particular Xanthos, that tended to be politically predominant throughout the Dynastic period, and it would be strange for the federal symbol of Lycia not to be used in the political centre of gravity.

There are other symbols which are found repeated on coinage carrying the names of a number of cities; an example of this might be the bull protomes found on the coinage of the dynast Uele and the city Phellos.[73] However, the appearance of these symbols is so haphazard as to their place of minting and dynast that it is difficult to make a case for them being local symbols,[74] let alone national/federal ones; they could be the symbols of dynasts, standing in place of their names, or simply one city copying an emblem from the coinage of another.

The one remaining argument for the federation is a phrase used in the Lycian inscriptions: *itlehi Trm̃mili huwedri* (*TAM* i 83.16; 88.5; 95.3; 118.3; 150.7). Houwink ten Cate proposed a number of translations for the term *itlehi*, including that it was a confederate treasurer or ταμίας.[75] This interpretation is presumably what Bean is following when he speaks of "inscriptions [that] refer ... to ... the 'Federal Treasurer of the Termilae'".[76] Laroche's preference is for 'fédération' or 'peuple'.[77] Whatever the term actually means, the association with *Trm̃mili* certainly implies that it possessed some form of 'national' characteristics. However, even if *tamias* is the correct translation, assuming that the office was 'federal' in some way is surely unwarranted.

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[69] Head 1911: 688. Mørkholm, Zahle 1972: 82, 112-13 see it as an indication "of constitutional organisation".

[70] Mørkholm, Zahle 1972: 79; 1976: 61.

[71] Mørkholm, Zahle 1976: 61.

[72] For the spread of the symbol see Mørkholm, Zahle 1972: 79; 1976, 61; for its disappearance, see Mørkholm, Zahle 1972: 82

[73] Uele: Babelon 1907: 195-96; Phellos: Babelon 1907: 199-200.

[74] For a partial attempt, dealing with Kheriga, Kherēi and Erbbina, see Mørkholm, Zahle 1972: 72-86.

[75] Houwink ten Cate 1961: 94. A number of other scholars (e.g. Imbert 1896: 230-31; Torp 1898: 17-18; Pedersen 1945: 39) have proposed something similar. For the term see Bryce 1981: 87; 1986: 135-36.

[76] Bean 1978: 27.

[77] Laroche 1967: 56.

In any case, Heubeck recently proposed that *itlehi* is a plural term, and that it describes divine agents of vengeance; Melchert appears to have some sympathy with such an interpretation;[78] even if it was an office, it may better belong in the sphere of religion rather than politics.[79] Given this uncertainty, *itlehi Trm̃mili huwedri* can hardly be taken as evidence for federalism.

Therefore the argument for a direct link between the Classical Lycian system of government and the later League is not one that carries any real strength (though, as will become apparent later, an indirect link in the form of a national ethos may well be possible). A genuinely federal state in the Near East at this early stage seems highly unlikely, and to project the political situation that existed after *c.* 200 onto the Dynastic period seems anachronistic.[80] One suspects that the automatic assumption of a federal structure where no evidence exists is a result of looking at the Lycians in the wrong way. Despite Larsen's remarks about Anatolian origins, it seems that many scholars retain in their mind a picture of Greek *poleis* uniting into larger federal units. It is much more sensible, surely, to see the Lycians and their system of government as emerging from the Asiatic tradition of monarchies, such as exemplified in Phrygia, Lydia or Cilicia.

Homer speaks of an unnamed[81] 'lord' (*anax*) of Lycia in the context of the Bellerophon story (Hom. *Il.* 6.172-73):

> ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ Λυκίην ἷξε Ξάνθόν τε ῥέοντα,
> προφρονέως μιν τῖεν ἄναξ Λυκίης εὐρείης·
>
> And when he reached Lycia and the stream of Xanthos, the king of broad Lycia honoured him with ready welcome.[82]

Also, Sarpedon and Glaukos, the two most prominent Lycians in the *Iliad*, are described as 'kings' (*basileis*) of Lycia (Hom. *Il.* 12.318-20):[83]

> οὐ μὰν ἀκλεέες Λυκίην κάτα κοιρανέουσιν
> ἡμέτεροι βασιλῆες, ἔδουσί τε πίονα μῆλα
> οἶνόν τ' ἔξαιτον μελιηδέα·
>
> These are no worthless men who rule over us in Lycia, these kings we have who eat our fat sheep and drink the choice of our honey-sweet wine.[84]

This is not, of course, terribly surprising in the context of the *Iliad*, where

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78 Heubeck 1982: 109-10; Melchert 1993a: 32.
79 Bryce 1986: 135-36.
80 Note also the remarks of Zimmermann 1992a: 22.
81 Later tradition (e.g. Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.3.1) names him Iobates.
82 Translation from Hammond 1987: 133.
83 He also uses the less specific term *agos* (ἀγός: *Il.* 16.490).
84 Translation from Hammond 1987: 220-21.

most leading figures are *basileis* of some sort,[85] and so really does not reveal very much; the Homeric *basileus* was not quite the same thing as the later 'kings' of the Greek world,[86] and there is probably little to be made out of the plurality of the kingship. It is perhaps also worth noting Homer's regular description of Lycia as a δῆμος (*Il.* 16.437, 455). Whether all this means that Lycia was united under a king in the time of Homer is impossible to say.[87]

The best evidence comes from the epigraphy of Lycia. In an number of inscriptions, the formula *ẽnẽ* [name] *χñtawata* is to be found.[88] The term *χñtawata*, which certainly denotes very high status, was at first believed in itself to denote a rank.[89] A consensus has now been reached amongst scholars, who agree that the phrase can be translated as 'under the command/authority (of) ...'[90]

The Letoön Trilingual (p. 10) has added some new information. There *χñtawati*, clearly a related term,[91] is used, in a religious context, as part of the name of the deity for whom cultic practices are being prescribed, the *Xñtawati Xbidẽñni* (N 320.*a*.7-8). In the Greek the equivalent phrase is Βασιλεὺς Καυνίος (N 320.*b*.7). Does this mean that it is safe to translate *ẽnẽ* ... *χñtawata* in general terms as 'under the kingship of'?[92] One must examine the eight individuals who are recorded in connection with the formula (or some minor variation thereof).[93]

1. *Arppakhu*. Arppakhu (pp. 116-17) is epigraphically linked with the formula in inscriptions from the vicinity of Phellos (*TAM* i 77.2*b*, N 310.4), but his name appears nowhere on coinage; it may, however, be that he was regent in the final days of his father-in-law Kuprlli, not entitled to mint, but entitled to the rank of *χñtawata*, or at least the respect due to the rank.

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[85] See Levy 1987: 307-09.

[86] See Levy 1987: 252; Murray 1993: 38.

[87] Frei 1990a: 8. The interpretation of the political system of Bronze Age Lycia made by Graves 1960: II, 304 no. 162.9, is an implausible reading of Homer contaminated by Herodotus' story of matrilineality.

[88] *TAM* i 11.2-3; 43.2; 61.2; 64.2; 67.2; 77.2*b*; 83.5-6; 103.3; 131.1-2; N 310.4; 314.7-8. For a full discussion of the term, see Heubeck 1979a; 1979b.

[89] So Schmidt (1879: 443; 'Fürst') followed by Treuber (1887: 104 n. 2), basing his interpretation on *TAM* i 11, Laroche (1957-1958: 182, but see now 1974: 134) and Houwink ten Cate (1961: 9, 92); cf. Gusmani 1963: 287 for the traditional interpretation. It seems that Hornblower 1982: 181 thinks the term is equivalent to 'hyparch'; but one cannot be sure as the reference he gives, to *TAM* i 67, is incorrect.

[90] Gusmani 1963: 284-89; Bryce 1986: 133, from whom this translation has been taken; Zimmermann 1992a: 28.

[91] Cf. *TAM* i 44.*b*.58, 62, *c*.10-11.

[92] Cf. Laroche 1979: 104-06;.Melchert 1993a: 92.

[93] Most are listed at Bryce 1986: 133-34. For the possibility of Pixodaros, see Zahle 1983: 30, 109.

He is linked with Xanthos through the appearance of his name on the Inscribed Pillar.

2. *Kheriga.* This man, Arppakhu's son (p. 78), was a western coin-issuer (p. 130-31) identified with the formula (*TAM* i 43.2). On the Inscribed Pillar, which is his tomb, the Greek epigram speaks of Kheriga's βασιλέα[94] (*SEG* 42 1245.8 = *TAM* i 44.*c*.27). His son Erbbina had a statue base erected for himself on which he is described as a man who was a *tyrannos* (ἐτυρά[ννει]: *SEG* 39 1414 [= *CEG* 888] 7); as has long been known, *tyrannos* could often be used as a synonym for *basileus*.[95] Elsewhere in the same inscription Erbbina is described as the man 'who ruled over the Lycians' ([ὅς Λυκίοις ἄρ]ξας).[96]

3. *Darius II and Artaxerxes II.* Both Persian Kings are attested as *χñtawati* on the Inscribed Pillar (*TAM* i 44.*b*.58-60). Here the term does not refer to a monarch of Lycia, but is the equivalent of a position described in Greek as *basileus*.[97]

4. *Arttum̃para.* Another western coin-issuer (pp. 148-51) identified with the formula (*TAM* i 11.2-3).

5. *Mithrapata.* Another coin-issuer in the east (pp. 152-54) named in connection with the formula (*TAM* i 64.2). Outside the equation of the formula with kingship, there is no evidence that he described himself as a 'king'.[98]

6. *Perikle.* A coin-issuer of the early fourth century (pp. 154-70) identified with the formula (*TAM* i 67.2; 83.5-6; 103.3; 132.1-2; N 314.7-8). This is one of the few Lycian individuals to appear in the Greek historical record, and in one of the two places he is mentioned he is called by the fourth-century historian Theopompus 'king [βασιλεύς] of the Lycians' (F 103.17); the other literary mention (Polyaen. 5.42) makes no comment on his status. In two recently-discovered Greek inscriptions from Limyra,[99] however, Perikle himself is found assuming the title of 'king of [all] Lycia' (Λυκίας β[ασιλέων], *SEG* 41 1382.2).[100] Hornblower comments that this is "perhaps a hit at the pretensions of the Xanthian dynasts",[101] though

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[94] I.e. βασιλεία; Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI*, p. 283.

[95] Andrewes 1956: 20-30.

[96] *SEG* 39 1414.4, as restored by Bousquet 1992: 156. An accompanying inscription, *SEG* 28 1245.A (= N 311, *CEG* 889) 4, was originally restored by Bousquet (1975: 142) as Ἀρβίνας Λυκίων [κλεινότατος βασίλευς ?], but he does not print this restoration in the most recent publication (Bousquet 1992: 159).

[97] There may further be a reference at *TAM* i 44.*b*.64 to a Spartan *χñtawati*.

[98] See now Wörrle 1991: 208-09.

[99] Borchhardt 1989; 557; Wörrle 1993a.

[100] Wörrle 1991: 203-17.

[101] Hornblower 1994b: 214.

Wörrle is more clear that this is a claim to a title held in western Lycia.[102]

7. *Autophradates*. Attested with the formula on an inscription from Sebeda (*TAM* i 61.2; p. 171), Autophradates was the Lydian satrap spanning the period of the 'Satraps' Revolt', a period when, as shall be seen, the Lycian monarchy seems to have been abolished in favour of rule from Caria. Autophradates' 'kingship' possibly represents an interim phase of that change-over.

8. *Alakhssañtra*. This man is named on an inscription from Tlos (*TAM* i 29.9), very likely as *χñtawata* of Lycia (*Alaχssa*[*ñ*]*tra* ... *Trm̃misñ* : *ñtepi* : *χñtawata* : *apptte teri*—'Alakhssañtra ... took [?] the city in[to?] his rule of Lycia'). Alakhssañtra is almost certainly Alexander the Great.[103] That Alexander was a *basileus* does not, of course, need arguing; if it did, then one should note that he is named as such on an inscription from the Letoön (*SEG* 30 1533).[104]

9. *Pttule*. Pttule is named as *χñtawati* on an inscription from Kadyanda (*TAM* i 35.1) dated 400-320 by Laroche on the basis of letter-forms.[105] Some scholars have expressed the opinion that *Pttule* is the Lycian rendition of the Greek name Ptolemy, and that this man was one of the Ptolemies of Egypt.[106] The Ptolemaic dynasty was first involved in Lycia in 309 (Diod. 20.27.1), when Ptolemy I Soter took the land off Antigonos Monopthalmos; Egypt was in firm control of Lycia by the early third century.[107] This identification may well be doubted; Bryce, for one, is extremely sceptical.[108] Nonetheless, it does seem likely that *pttule* is a personal name of some description.[109] Furthermore, there is no other evidence for anyone in Lycia by that name who might be important enough to warrant the title *χñtawati*. There are two possible coins of Pttule, on the west-Lycian standard, carrying the legend *ptt* (M 212). Usually *ptt* is thought to be an abbreviated form of *Pttara*, the Lycian name of Patara[110]—but it may conceivably be an abbreviated form of Pttule.[111] The only other occurrence of the name is in an inscription from the city of Isinda (*TAM* i 65.7, 8),

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[102] Wörrle 1993a.

[103] So Bryce 1986: 49; Neumann 1996: 145; cf. Heubeck 1979: 256.

[104] Cited by Le Roy 1980: 56.

[105] Laroche 1979: 55

[106] Imbert 1900: 249-50; Laroche 1979: 56; supported by Frei 1981: 364; Zahle 1983: 30. Cf. Neumann 1996: 147.

[107] Frei 1990a: 12; Kolb, Kupke 1992: 21-22. Meadows 1995 is inclined to delay firm Ptolemaic control of Lycia until *c.* 282.

[108] Bryce 1986: 49-50.

[109] See Melchert 1993a: 107.

[110] See M, p. 23. Plin. *HN* 5.28.100 says that the original name of Patara was Pataros.

[111] M 241c has the abbreviation *pt*; this, however, belongs to the Athena-head series, on which only site-names appear, so *pt* there is probably correctly interpreted as Patara.

which probably dates to the late fifth or fourth century.[112] Unfortunately, this is a highly fragmentary inscription, and the context in which Pttule is mentioned is entirely obscure. It remains possible that Pttule is indeed a Ptolemy; if so, he is Ptolemy I rather than Ptolemy II, since the Lycian language seems, by and large, not to be used epigraphically after the fourth century.[113] If that is the case, then here too there is no argument that the individual was a *basileus*.

It seems from this inescapable that Lycia had 'kings'. This is not, however, to suggest that the thirty or more coin-issuers identifiable from the numismatic record all were equivalent to 'kings'; if they did, one would expect more occurrences of the formula on inscriptions.

It is more than likely, as Bryce observes, that *ẽnẽ ... χñtawata* was a quasi-dating formula.[114] The inscriptions using this formula usually either date the inscription to the reign of the named individual, or date an event noted on the inscription to that individual's reign.[115] Indeed, the inscription featuring Pttule may even give a year of the rule.[116] Since these inscriptions are found from Pinara in the west to Limyra in the east, this may suggest a fairly broad politically-linked area in which this formula was used.

There is, however, a problem with these 'kings'; most of the time they do not make an impact upon Greek sources. Only Theopompus speaks of a *basileus* of Lycia;[117] Herodotus speaks solely of 'the Lycians' in his account of the fall of Xanthos in *c.* 540 (1.171.1, 176.1), Thucydides, describing the invasion of Lycia by Melesandros in 430/29 mentions no leaders on the other side (Thuc. 2.69), and Diodorus mentions the Lycians only as a group when they participated in the Satraps' Revolt (Diod. 15.90.3). It is perhaps also worth noting that no Lycian ruler is attested in the Athenian Tribute Lists. This is in marked contrast to the regular appearances of Carian dynasts on the lists.[118]

In the case of the two later writers this absence is not too surprising; Di-

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[112] See Friedrich 1932: 73.

[113] Bryce 1986: 50. If the Pttule/Ptolemy identification is correct, then *TAM* i 35 would be the latest roughly datable Lycian inscription, part of the reason for Bryce's scepticism.

[114] Bryce 1986: 133. Laroche (1979: 56) translates *//// uhi χñtawati pttule* (*TAM* i 35.1) as "l'An IV (du) roi Ptolé[mée]". Cf. Gusmani 1963: 284-89; Heubeck 1979a: 249-50; though against this Zahle 1983: 30 argues that the formula was only used by close associates of the individual named.

[115] The former is certainly the case for *TAM* i 11.2-3, 43.2, 61.2, 64.2, 67.2 and 103.3. The most likely case for the latter is the mention of Alexander at *TAM* i 29.9.

[116] *TAM* i 35.1; see Laroche 1979: 56.

[117] See Wörrle 1993a: 189.

[118] E.g. *IG* i³ 71.i.112-13, i.155-56, ii.96-97; 259.ii.27, v.16; 261.v.12; 263.i.14-15; 267.iii.25; 270.v.10; 271.i.84; 272.ii.79; 280.i.66-67; 282.iv.48-49; 284.7-8. See Bean, Cook 1952: 69-70, 97ff.; Bokisch 1969: 128.

odorus is generally being too concise, and Thucydides simply is not interested enough, to include the names of local leaders.[119] The absence of named Lycian leaders from Herodotus is a little more perplexing, as he was a writer usually alert to the role of individuals in history, who came from Halikarnassos, not far away, and might be expected to know some names. The only pre-Persian ruler of Lycia of whom he knows is the legendary Sarpedon; the story of Lykon son of Pandion might imply that Lykon was a ruler of Lycia, but Sarpedon is the only one *explicitly* named as ruling (ἦρχε, Hdt. 1.173.3). It is, however, difficult to draw conclusions one way or the other in the light of Herodotus' rather anecdotal evidence about Lycia, and he may simply be conceiving of Xanthos in terms of being a Greek-style *polis* (see p. 53). If, as may be suspected, his only knowledge of Lycia was gained at second-hand (at least), it is hardly surprising that the name of Lycia's ruler has escaped his knowledge; furthermore, even if Lycia did not have the political system suggested here there would presumably have been leading citizens at the time of the Persian invasion who have passed unnoticed in Herodotus. Herodotus' silences are not useful evidence for the political structure of Lycia at this time. It should in any case be noted that Herodotus also records the only other Classical-period Lycian leader apart from Perikle to be mentioned in a Greek source,[120] Kybernis, son of Kossikas (on whom see pp. 87-90).

Many of these Lycian 'kings' were associated with Xanthos. Given this, the evidence for unity in Lycia (pp. 40-42) and for Xanthos as the capital (pp. 56-60), it would appear that the answer to Frei's question "War der König von Xanthos damals König von Lykien?"[121] is yes.

At this point it is necessary to consider the evidence that can be derived from Lycian coinage. The earliest, from the early fifth century, was on the whole uninscribed,[122] and so it becomes difficult to draw conclusions. In the fifth and fourth centuries, however, it is clear that a mixture of dynasts minted contemporaneously. The best period to illustrate this is the mid-fifth century, where there is considerable evidence of links between Kuprlli and other dynasts (pp. 113-15) and the later Xanthian dynasts Kheriga, Kherẽi, an associate—indeed, possibly a relative—of Kheriga's, and Erbbina, Kheriga's son, and their contemporaries (p. 147).

Since many dynasts in the fifth century seem to have minted on both the

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[119] Furthermore, in the case of Melesandros' invasion the Inscribed Pillar records the defeat of the Athenian attack (*a*.45), thus indicating that Kheriga was Lycian 'king' at the time and involved in the repulse of the Athenian expedition; on the expedition, see Keen 1993b: 152-57 and pp. 131-33.

[120] Omitting the 'Kalyndan' *basileus* Damasithymos for reasons given at p. 95.

[121] Frei 1990a: 8.

[122] Hill 1897: xxvi-xxviii; Mørkholm 1964: 68.

west-Lycian and central/east-Lycian standards[123] it seems possible that the right to mint coinage was personal to the dynasts and did not derive from their rule of any one city; this is shown best in the mid-fifth century (pp. 115-16). It has been suggested by some[124] that city mints used by the dynasts represented only their private estates; these scholars, however, give a general warning that the coinage record does not present a very clear picture of Lycia's political system.

There has been a tendency to identify some Lycian cities as 'dynastic sites' or 'Herrensitzen',[125] which suggest close association of dynasts with cities; this has particularly been suggested for the central-Lycian cities that minted their own coinage (p. 54). However, Zimmermann rightly notes that the evidence is insufficient to properly examine this.[126] He argues that the fortified sites in central Lycia cannot securely be identified as dynastic palaces; they may more likely have been refuge sites for the general population.[127]

A notable point is that two coin-issuing dynasts are known with the name Wekhssere, one dated *c.* 450 and one to the early fourth century.[128] This might suggest that this right of minting coinage could be passed on through the generations.[129] From where this right of minting might ultimately derive is unclear, though one would expect it to come from the 'kings'. It seems further from the existence of dynasts who minted on only one standard (for examples see e.g. p. 115) that the Lycian 'nobility' fell into two classes, those with the rights to mint coinage at locations throughout Lycia (though what those locations would be is impossible to tell), and those who could only mint coinage in certain sections of the country.[130] Presumably the difference is explained by the most important dynastic families having estates throughout Lycia, whilst the lesser ones had their territory concentrated. It is worth reiterating that the important figure Arppakhu never coined.

It is also relevant to note that Kheriga claimed in a Greek epigram on his tomb to have distributed part of his kingdom to his relatives (συνγενέσιν δῶκε μέρος βασιλέας, *SEG* 42 1245.8 = *TAM* i 44.*c*.27). As Savalli suggests, this does not suggest that Lycia was divided, but that Kheriga had closely involved his family in the administration of the coun-

123 Childs 1981: 58 n. 22.

124 E.g. Mørkholm, Zahle 1972: 112; Borchhardt 1976: 108.

125 Peterson, von Luschau 1889: 10; Borchhardt 1975b: 81ff.; Wurster in Borchhardt 1975b: 83ff.; Wurster 1977b: 51ff.; Marksteiner 1993.

126 Zimmermann 1992a: 16-19.

127 See Zimmermann 1992a: 17 n. 25 and refs.

128 For the existence of two Wekhsseres see Jenkins 1959: 33; Bryce, Zahle n.d.

129 Cf. Bryce 1986: 162.

130 For the coin-issuing of dynasts, see M, *passim*.

try.[131] It has already been noted that Arppakhu, father of Kheriga, though identified as a 'king', never coined under his own name. It also seems more than likely that the 'kings' and the dynasts were those buried in the distinctive pillar-tombs that are to be found across western and central Lycia.[132]

If all this evidence is read in conjunction with the discussion above (pp. 46-50) about the probability of a monarchy in Lycia, it suggests that there was a hierarchical structure, with the central dynasts (or 'kings') who dominated over a number of lesser dynasts who each nonetheless had rights of minting coinage, and therefore some degree of autonomy,[133] and authority throughout the land. This is what people such as Jones are referring to when describing the political system of Classical Lycia, but it should not have the term 'federal' applied to it.[134] Frei describes the system as an 'adelige Schicht'.[135] The implication conveyed by this term is of a feudal monarchy along mediaeval lines. This may be an accurate picture, but the lack of firm knowledge of how the system worked in detail prevents this being proven.

What one can say is that the Lycian 'nobility', for want of a better term, in some ways foreshadows the personal kingships of the Successors of Alexander. If, as Hornblower has argued, Mausolos was the first proper Hellenistic ruler, and his ideas influenced the Macedonians who followed; one must remember that there is a case for saying that Mausolos was influenced by the Lycian 'kings' in many aspects of his rule (p. 174).

Some evidence exists for the ideology of these rulers. An inscription of the dynast Erbbina from the Letoön (p. 141) details the virtues he claims to possess (*SEG* 39 1414); wisdom, bowmanship, courage and horsemanship (all virtues connected with skill at hunting) are mentioned,[136] and above all, it seems, personally killing people (presumably in battle). This latter may be compared with the Greek epigram on the Inscribed Pillar, where Kheriga boasts of killing seven Arcadian hoplites in the same day (*SEG* 42 1245.10 = *TAM* i 44.*b*.29), whereas the importance of hunting in epigraphy may be compared to its importance on sculpture, such as the reliefs on the Nereid Monument.[137] The ideology seems to be a mix of Greek and oriental themes.[138] About their involvement[139] in religious matters we

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131 Savalli 1988: 111.

132 Zahle 1980: 38; 1983: 32-33, 64-65, 107-11; Keen 1992a: 53. Zimmermann 1992a: 19 notes that a pillar-tomb does not necessarily imply rule of the surrounding area by the owner.

133 Childs 1981: 58; Frei 1990a: 8-9.

134 Zimmermann 1992a: 16 speaks of an 'independent' and 'self-confident' monarchy.

135 Frei 1990a: 8.

136 See Savalli 1988: 105-06. These virtues may have a Persian origin; p. 138.

137 Childs, Demargne 1989: pl. 115b. See now Seyer 1996.

138 For two differing views of the ideology of Erbbina's dedications, see Herrenschmidt 1985 and Savalli 1988.

know very little. No known coin-issuer can be identified as a priest or other religious official, and not enough is known of their families to tell whether there were connections with any priests that are known, though there seems to be evidence on the Inscribed Pillar for Kheriga officiating at sacrifices, presumably in his position as 'king', Erbbina made dedications in the national sanctuary of the Lycians at the Letoön, and Perikles dedicated an altar to Zeus (p. 161).[140]

In the eyes of some Greek authors contemporary with the Dynastic period Lycia contained individual *poleis*. Hecataeus applies the term to Xanthos, Patara and Sindia, Phellos and Melanippion.[141] Ps.-Scylax lists seven *poleis* (plus another four that properly belong to Pamphylia), though he may well be using *polis* simply as a topographical term.[142] Diodorus, probably repeating the terminology of Ephorus, says that Lycia had *poleis* (Diod. 11.60.5). Menander (*Aspis* 30-32), however, speaks of Lycia being comprised of κῶμαι. This is a term, interestingly, that is hardly ever found in connection with the communities of southern Anatolia; the only other examples being some *kômai* associated with Telemessos found in an inscription of 282 (*SEG* 28 1224.25-9), and a 'Village of the Kardakes' (Καρδάκων κώμη) also in the vicinity of Telemessos (p. 64-65). Arrian, writing in the second century A.D. but drawing upon fourth-century sources, whilst admitting that there were some communities at the time of Alexander's invasion worthy of the term *polis* (specifically Pinara, Xanthos and Patara), uses the term *polisma* for the majority of settlements in the Xanthos valley (*Anab.* 1.24.4). *Polisma* is a term cognate with *polis* in the physical but not in the political sense.[143] Some writers were more likely to use this term than *polis* in reference to border area towns. At 1.24.5-6, however, Arrian describes the settlements of the Λύκιοι οἱ κάτω (presumably eastern Lycia)[144] as *poleis*. It is, however, unclear how much of Arrian's terminology actually derives from his fourth-century source.

There are also documents from fourth-century Xanthos in which Xanthos and other cities are described as *poleis*, both in the topographical sense and the political (N 320.*b*.12, 18; *SEG* 39 1414.24), i.e. as, to use

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139 Demargne 1981: 587; Childs, Demargne 1989: 280-83.

140 For the nature of the Letoön, see Bean 1978: 61; Bryce 1983a: 12. It is interesting to note that in Hellenistic times Lycian cities tended to date by the tenures of priests (e.g. *SEG* 18 570.1).

141 For references, see p. 29. One should qualify this statement to say that at least Stephanus in his entries on these cities indicates that Hecataeus called them *poleis*; Stephanus is not necessarily to be relied upon in these matters, but his accuracy with site-classification as regards Hecataeus may be fairly reliable. See Whitehead 1994, esp. 119 for Hecataeus.

142 [Scyl.] 100. That Ps.-Scylax uses *polis* as a topographical term is the opinion of Prof. Whitehead; but see Flensted-Jensen, Hansen 1996: 152-53.

143 See Flensted-Jensen 1995: 129-31.

144 See Keen 1996c: 115.

Aristotle's phrase (*Pol.* 1276b1-2), *koinoniai politon politeias*. However, being a *polis* did not automatically entail autonomous independence; the Persian empire, after all, included *poleis*.[145] Nor did it necessarily imply Hellenism; Greek authors could happily conceive of barbarian *poleis* (e.g. Hdt. 1.76.2; Thuc. 6.88.6; Xen. *Hell.* 4.1.1; [Scyl.] 21).

In central and eastern Lycia there seem to have been a number of cities that minted coinage in their own right, to judge from the appearance of coins on the heavier standard carrying only the city-name and no dynast name (e.g. Aperlai: M 112-14; Zagaba [pp. 55, 109]: M 14, 109, 134-36).[146] Some of these cities cannot be located, but most of those which can were in central Lycia, and the others probably were. There geography probably contributed to local independence (p. 15). However, there clearly was some overlap between the dynasts and the cities, as dynasts are known to have minted at some of these cities,[147] and pillar tombs are found at central-Lycian sites.

This phenomenon of quasi-independent cities does not seem to have occurred in western Lycia, perhaps because of the comparative ease of intercity communications. Though there are coins of western Lycian cities that carry only a city name, most belong to a group carrying the behelmeted head of Athena on the obverse (M 240-47). In this case, the head of Athena was probably standing as a badge representing a dynast (in all likelihood the ruler of Xanthos; see pp. 146-47). The only example of coins on the western standard outside of this group carrying a city-name alone are examples that carry the legend *ptt*, which may be an abbreviation of *Pttara*, but, as already suggested (p. 48), may instead be the abbreviation for Pttule. In any case Patara at this time may not have been a separate independent polity (p. 60).

There may also have been sympolities.[148] In Roman times Aperlai formed a sympolity with Apollonia, Simena and Isinda, with Aperlai at the centre.[149] At Isinda there are three known pillar tombs and at Apollonia there are six[150] and a larger monument,[151] which, even if it is not, as Kjeldsen and Zahle suggest, a dynastic tomb,[152] indicates a site of some importance. Aperlai, on the other hand, has no known monuments of the Classi-

145 As demonstrated by Hansen 1993: 18-20.
146 Zimmermann 1992a: 25.
147 E.g. Aruwãtijesi at Zagaba (M 137a). See Zimmermann 1992a: 26.
148 For sympolities in central Lycia, see now Zimmermann 1992a: 123-41, and especially 129-32 on the sympolity at Aperlai.
149 See Robert 1962: 55-56; Bean 1978: 102.
150 Deltour-Levie 1982: Tableau récapitulatif.
151 Kjeldsen, Zahle 1976.
152 Cf. Keen 1992a: 56 n. 19.

cal period,[153] but did mint coinage. It may be that Aperlai was the mint for the sympolity whilst Apollonia was the chief city, and Isinda a lesser city.[154] In Roman times Aperlai was at the centre of the sympolity, but it was a phenomenon of Hellenistic Lycia for wealth and power to move from inland to coastal cities. Bean, however, doubts at least Apollonia's membership of this sympolity in pre-Roman times, on the grounds of dedications made to the Roman emperors Augustus and Tiberius independently of Aperlai, and the sympolity is not attested in the Classical or Hellenistic record.[155]

If there were sympolities, it might explain the otherwise curious coinage issued by Zagaba and Phellos (*Zaχabaha Wahñ*: M134a),[156] the only firmly attested example of two city-names on a coin. So unusual is this, that some have suggested that *Zagaba* was the name of a dynast (or even two separate dynasts).[157] That it is a place is clear from its appearance on the Inscribed Pillar in context with the undoubted place-names of Tymnessos and Patara (*TAM* i 44.*a*.42-43)[158] and perhaps from the appearance of Zagaba coins in the 'Decadrachm Hoard' (p. 109); previously the coins were only known from the fourth century, but the period of the whole Zagaba series is now known to fall outside any one man's lifetime.[159] The coin inscription that supposedly shows that Zagaba minted at Aperlai (M 111) only carries the inscription *Aprll Za*. *Za*... is probably a dynast, but he is unlikely to be Zagaba. Another coin-legend (M 137a), *Aruwãtijesi Zag*, almost certainly means that the dynast Aruwãtijesi minted at Zagaba. So it is clear that, despite the signs of local semi-autonomy, members of the 'nobility' still had links with (i.e. probably estates in) central-Lycian cities.

One internal division known to exist within Lycian cities (in addition to the *kômai* recorded at Telemessos; p. 53) are groups called *perioikoi*.[160] Their existence is attested on the Letoön Trilingual (N 320.*b*.27; cf. *SEG* 40 1279); in the Lycian text (N 320.*a*.31) they are called *epewẽtlm̃mẽi*. There are also found later (in the 280s) on inscriptions from Telemessos (*SEG* 28 1224.22) and Limyra.[161] That this was originally a legal distinction is argued by Wörrle.[162] However, there seems to be no particular dis-

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153 Zahle 1980: 40.

154 Kjeldsen, Zahle 1976: 45-46.

155 Bean 1978: 104. It is doubted that this is a true sympolity by French 1994: 86.

156 Bryce 1976b: 183.

157 City: Stoltenberg 1955: 37; Frei 1967: 87-88; Carruba 1993: 12-13. Dynast: Olçay, Mørkholm 1971: 4; two dynasts: M, p. 12; Childs 1981: 66; Zimmermann 1992a: 28, 36.

158 Frei 1967: 87-88; Carruba 1993: 12.

159 Spier 1987: 33, postulates two dynasts named Zagaba.

160 On the *perioikoi* see now Hahn 1981; Borchhardt 1990e: 133-35; Gygax 1991 (reported by *SEG* 41 1337); see also the references in *SEG* 40 1279.

161 For the latter see Wörrle 1977: 44.

162 Wörrle 1978: 238-39.

tinction in legal standing on the Trilingual between the citizens of the *polis* of Xanthos and the *perioikoi*, nor is one specified in the Telemessos inscription, all having an equal share in the government of the city. It seems that this is probably no more than a simple geographical division between those living in the city and those living outside (one later entirely abandoned after *c.* 250 in favour of a distinction between ἄστυ and χώρα, with all citizens as πολῖται).[163] One might compare Herodotus' use of περιοικέω and cognates, which as Shipley notes often simply expresses a topographic relationship (note 1.173.3, where the term is used of the neighbours of the Lycians).[164] The only possible community of *perioikoi* is that of the Pernitai, discussed below (p. 160).

Finally, it is also worth mentioning an unpublished inscription from Kourion, Cyprus, probably of the first century, that lists οἱ ἐπὶ Λυκίης καὶ Παρεπίλυκοι,[165] though it is uncertain what can be made of this document.

As a result of this discussion, it is necessary to considerably complicate the view put forward by Bryce. Xanthos was indeed the link between the Persian satrap and the Lycian dynasts, but the dynasts beyond the 'kings' were not simply regional sub-rulers,[166] but belonged to a nobility tied more to Lycia than to individual cities (one might compare Macedon after Philip II, where nobles were loyal to Macedon as a whole rather than to their local regions). Even that picture does not take account of the cities in central and eastern Lycia, who though subject to Xanthian rule seem to have practised a form of quasi-autonomy.

Xanthos—Capital of Lycia

Xanthos lies in the valley of the river of the same name, at the tip of a low spur that extends from Mt. Massikytos, overlooking the river below it. This readily-defensible position commands communications down the valley, and it is from this that Xanthos derives its importance. Xanthos had two acropoleis, one, the 'Lycian' acropolis, which was used originally in the Classical period and one which took over in the Hellenistic and Roman periods (though it was enclosed within the city walls before this). The Lycian acropolis has been thoroughly excavated, and many buildings of the Classical period have been found.[167]

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163 See *SEG* 40 1380.

164 Shipley 1997.

165 The inscription is cited by Masson 1985: 192, who links the Παρεπίλυκοι with the Ἐπίλυκοι on an inscription from Knossos (*SEG* 25 989.1), though Platon 1948: 97-99 thought that this latter was a "religious association of uncertain character" (so *SEG* 35, p. 266).

166 *Contra* Carruba 1996: 37.

167 Metzger 1963: *passim.*

The name Xanthos is Greek (p. 14). Hecataeus (F 255 *ap.* Steph. Byz. 480.15 *s.v.* Ξάνθος) speaks of an obviously mythical founder Xanthos, an Egyptian or Cretan; the fifth-century poet Panyassis (F 18 K *ap.* Steph. Byz. 633.10-14 *s.v.* Τρεμίλη) speaks of Xanthos, son of Tremiles;[168] Stephanus (123.13 *s.v.* Ἄρνα) speaks of Arnos, again, an obviously invented figure to explain the Xanthians' own name for their city.

In Lycian that name was *Arñna*, as indicated by inscriptions and coins;[169] late Greek authors cite it as *Arna*. Until recently it was commonly agreed that this name derives from an original Hittite name *Arinna*;[170] Hittite documents list a city by that name in the Lukka Lands, which appears in the Milawata letter (*CTH* 182), and the Chronicle of Tudhaliya II (*CTH* 142, 11.ii.7). Recently, however, *Arñna* has been identified with Hittite *Awarna*,[171] mentioned in the Milawata Letter, in a hieroglyphic Luwian inscription from Emirgazi V, and on the Yalburt Monument.[172] One can perhaps accept this; but even so, the possibility needs to be acknowledged that *Awarna* and *Arinna* are different names for the same place.[173]

The Hittite name of the river seems likely to have been Siyanti, a suggestion first made by Garstang in 1923[174] but later abandoned the identification in favour of the river Senaros, a tributary of the Maiandros,[175] wrongly in my opinion.[176] 'Xanthos' is probably an assimilation to a Greek word of the Hittite name of the river (just as the Greeks called Lycia by the Hittite name, not by the name the Lycians themselves used), which was subsequently transferred to the city. Greek sources, however (e.g. Panyas. F 18 K; Str. 14.3.6 [665]), give the alternative name of the river as Sibros, Sirbis or Sirmis,[177] and Strabo says that this was the name used by 'people of ancient times'. In all probability Sibros/Sirbis is a Hellenization of the Lycian name for the river, which need not have been the same as the Hittite one.[178]

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[168] See Huxley 1969: 186.

[169] See Melchert 1993a: 6 for references.

[170] Forrer 1930: 150; del Monte, Tischler 1978: 32; Laroche 1979: 7, 53, 62, 86; Hoffner 1982: 115; Bryce 1985: 13.

[171] Mellink 1995a: 36; Carruba 1996: 32. Compare also Aramaic 'WRN from the Letoön Trilingual; see Metzger et al. 1979: 139; Mellink 1995a: 42 n. 21.

[172] Milawata Letter: Hoffner 1982; Singer 1983: 216; Bryce 1985: 13-23; Emirgazi V: Singer 1983: 216; Bryce 1985: 18, 20; Kohlmeyer 1993: 41; Yalburt Monument: Özgüç, Temizer 1988: xxv-xxvii, pll. 85-95, figs. 60-63; Hawkins 1990: 306, 313 n. 60; 1992: esp. 264.

[173] Cf. Mellink 1995a: 36.

[174] Mayer, Garstang 1923: 42, citing Albright, *KBo*; see also Sundwall 1913.

[175] Garstang, Gurney 1959: 91-92; del Monte, Tischler 1978: 548-49.

[176] A matter discussed more fully in an as yet unpublished paper (Keen 1993c). See now Mellink 1995a: 36, who also revives the identification (though for other reasons).

[177] Bean 1987: 49.

[178] Many Lycian place-names do appear to have counterparts in Hittite texts (see Garstang, Gurney 1958: 81-82), but there is, for example, no hint in Hittite sources of an equivalent to

The Xanthos valley seems to have formed a political unit from very early times. I have argued in a paper delivered at the 1993 conference of the British Association for Near Eastern Archaeology[179] that the Hittite fiefdom of the Siyanti River Land[180] should be identified with the Xanthos valley. Homer speaks of the kingdom of Lycia lying by the banks of the Xanthos (*Il.* 5.479, 12.313-14). It is interesting that the earliest references seem to emphasise the river, especially if it is correct that the river gave the city its Greek name. For though a Lukka city Arinna is attested in Hittite sources, no archaeological evidence has been found on the site that dates earlier than the eighth century. Was the site unoccupied before then? The French excavators suggest that if Xanthos was occupied before *c.* 700, the so-called 'Lycian' acropolis was not the centre of settlement, only being occupied in response to threats from Rhodian Greeks.[181] But it seems odd that such a prime defensible site should not have been used earlier, and it may be that any Bronze Age remains have been eroded away.[182]

Xanthos' glory days as capital belong to the period of the Achaemenid empire. What is the basis for believing that Xanthos was the capital of the unified Lycian state? There are strong literary hints. For example, when Herodotus describes the Persian conquest of Lycia in *c.* 540 (1.176), Xanthos is the only city he deems worthy of mention, and the fall of Lycia seems to depend upon the fall of Xanthos. Moreover, Herodotus alternates between 'Lycian' and 'Xanthian' as if the two terms were interchangeable.[183] Stephanus (641.9 *s.v.* Τυμνησσός) speaks of a 'Xanthian' word. Presumably here he means to refer to the Lycian language (cf. Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἀρτύμνησος.).

The archaeological evidence points even more strongly in this direction. Kheriga clearly minted coins at Xanthos (M 222b), as did other 'kings' (p. 59). Even more noticeable than that, however, is the richness of the archaeological ruins.[184]

Xanthos, not quite the largest city of Lycia, has seventeen known sculptured tombs, out of a total of forty-three monumental tombs.[185] This means that though Xanthos has fewer tombs than other sites in Lycia, such as

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Trm̃mis, the Hittites instead using *Lukka*. See also Sundwall 1913: 251, who argues for a derivation from a conjectured Hittite **zrbbe*, and Bean 1978: 49, who notes a hypothesized connection with Arabic *asmaru*, 'yellow'/'brown'.

179 Keen 1993c.

180 *CTH* 147, rev. 11ff.; translation in Bryce 1982: 33-38.

181 Metzger 1963: 77-78; Demargne, Metzger 1967: 1381-82.

182 Mellink 1995a: 37.

183 Noted by Treuber 1887: 91 n. 2; Houwink ten Cate 1961: 7; Bean 1978: 49; Bryce 1986: 100.

184 Zahle 1980: 40-42.

185 Zahle 1980: 42; 1983: *passim*.

Myra, Pinara or Limyra,[186] a greater proportion are decorated, and often to a higher standard than elsewhere. Often these appear as if Greek artists have been commissioned to carve the reliefs.[187]

The concentration of these tombs at Xanthos does not just suggest that Xanthos, as capitals will do, attracted the wealth of Lycia. The largest tombs in Lycia were undoubtedly those of the 'kings', and their presence at Xanthos indicates that it was here that the 'kings' chose to make their propaganda statements.

It is therefore no coincidence that the inscription on the Inscribed Pillar, glorifying Kheriga, was set up on the acropolis at Xanthos. It was set up in there because Xanthos was the centre of his power.

Even without an inscription, these pillar tombs remained important symbols of 'royal' power. The Inscribed Pillar and the Harpy Tomb of *c.* 475 carried grandly-sculptured reliefs. Though other cities have pillar tombs of their own,[188] those at Xanthos are the most impressive.

Persian satraps also used Xanthos as a location for their propaganda. Tissaphernes in the late fifth century minted coinage at Xanthos (M 221), whilst the fourth-century satrap Autophradates is honoured in an inscription on the Pajawa Sarcophagus (*TAM* i 40.*d*.1), the tomb, presumably, of one of his lieutenants.[189]

How Xanthos functioned as an administrative capital is unclear, as the evidence is scanty. There are remains of a building on the acropolis which seems to have been a dynastic residence. In its first form, this building dates back to the eighth- or early seventh-century, seemingly being destroyed in the Persian conquest of *c.* 540.[190] This was replaced by a new building, which seems itself to have been destroyed by fire *c.* 470.[191] Curiously there seems to have been no attempt to build a new residence on the acropolis; perhaps the 'kings' moved elsewhere. Other public architecture is lacking before the Hellenistic period.

Coinage was minted by the various 'kings' at Xanthos (M 205a-b, 221-23c, 224a-b, 240a-d). However, many of these rulers are also known to have minted elsewhere in Lycia,[192] so it is difficult to say that Xanthos had the national mint of Lycia.

The most important religious centres of Lycia were most certainly concentrated at Xanthos. On the acropolis itself was the cult centre of the hero

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186 Zahle 1980: 42-44, especially the comparison of the tombs of Xanthos and Pinara at 42 (on which see p. 38).
187 Hiller 1975: 30 n. 50; Bruns-Özgan 1987: 24-28.
188 See Deltour-Levie 1982: *passim*.
189 For the sarcophagus see Demargne 1974: 68-87; İdil 1985: 82-83; p. 171.
190 Metzger 1963: 16-19.
191 Metzger 1963: 20-23.
192 E.g. Kherẽi at Tlos and Telemessos: M 226a-b, 227.

Sarpedon (pp. 186-92). The acropolis has at least one other temple on it, Temple 'C'.[193] Also, the *agora* of Xanthos is known to be on the northern slopes of the Lycian acropolis.

More important that this was the sanctuary of Leto.[194] That it was in the territory of Xanthos is demonstrated by inscriptions of the Xanthians set up there (e.g. N 320.*b*). Unsurprisingly, this sanctuary also saw the setting up of propaganda monuments; Erbbina set up a statue here with inscriptions in Lycian and Greek on the base that praised his own noble qualities.[195]

Patara at this time may have functioned solely as the port of Xanthos; Appian describes it as πόλις ἐοικυῖα ἐπινείῳ Ξάνθιων (*B Civ.* 4.10.81), and marriage links between the two cities are reported by Cassius Dio (47.34.4).[196] But Hecataeus, according to Stephanus (F 256 *ap.* Steph. Byz. 510.17 *s.v.* Πάταρα), does call Patara a *polis.*

The Hellenistic period brought considerable changes to Lycia, as the 'kingdom' transformed into the Lycian League. These changes had an effect on Xanthos, which declined a little in importance. By the second century Xanthos was no longer *the* capital. Livy (37.16.6), speaking of events of 190, calls Patara the most important city of Lycia, and archaeological evidence for the Roman period attests to Patara's continued importance. It is a recognised phenomenon in Lycia that the coastal sites grew to be more important than their inland counterparts.[197]

Xanthos nonetheless prospered. The city expanded, and new walls were placed around the hill to the north of the Classical-period acropolis,[198] which became the new acropolis. Xanthos remained one of only six cities which had three votes in the Lycian federal assembly (Str. 14.3.3 [665]), and in the Roman period was often referred to by the title μητροπόλις (LBW, nos. 1255-88). It is not for nothing that Strabo (14.3.6 [666]) describes Xanthos as the greatest (μεγίστη) city of Lycia in his time.[199]

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[193] Metzger 1963: 29-36.

[194] Bryce 1986: 175.

[195] Bousquet 1975; Bourgarel, Metzger 1992b; Bousquet 1992.

[196] Treuber 1887: 91-92; Bryce 1986: 205. Intermarriage links were, however, a commonplace of the Hellenistic period (see Ogden 1996), and those between Patara and Xanthos need not go back beyond this time.

[197] Bryce 1986: 205.

[198] Metzger 1963: 9-10.

[199] See also Houwink ten Cate 1961: 7. In the reign of the emperor Theodosius II (A.D. 408-450), however, Myra was made capital of Lycia (Bean 1978: 121).

CHAPTER FOUR

IRANIZATION AND HELLENIZATION

Iranization

It has been suggested that many Persian influences came from substantial Iranian settlement in Lycia after the Persian conquest. Balcer, for instance, states that the new settlers who filled Xanthos after its destruction by Harpagos (pp. 75-76) were "moved from the eastern satrapies of the empire and Medians of Harpagos' own clan".[1] The evidence for such a view is weak. Significant colonization and military settlement in Lycia does not fit well with the free hand in internal administration left to the Lycians by Persia in the fifth and early fourth centuries (see especially p. 84).[2]

An Iranian settlement at Xanthos that considerably outnumbered the Lycian contingent of the population, or even one that approached parity, ought to have left some form of discernible trace in the archaeological record, but no such evidence has been found. If such a settlement did exist, either it left no traces on the acropolis, which seems unlikely since that area has been quite thoroughly excavated, or the people of this settlement must have assimilated themselves into the native community in less than a generation, which is even more unlikely.

Onomastic evidence is often used in support of Iranian settlement, but this too is weak. Schmitt has recently collected all those names from Lycian inscriptions for which an Old Persian form is attested in cuneiform texts of the Achaemenid period, or an Iranian origin is likely on other grounds, or an Iranian origin has been suggested but is doubtful. A total of twenty-four names can be found.[3] Of these, seven are of doubtful Iranian origin[4] and should be set aside for the purposes of determining Iranian set-

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1 Balcer 1984: 318; cf. also Bernard 1964: 209-12; Childs 1981: 61 n. 31 posits "one or more [royal] fiefdoms" possibly "created after the original conquest".

2 Sekunda 1991: 97. For Achaemenid settlement through Anatolia as a whole: Cook 1983: 167-82; Sekunda 1985; 1988; Hornblower 1991a: 71; Sekunda 1991.

3 Schmitt 1982a; 1982b: 375-82, 385-87; the names are set out in tabular form in Bryce 1986: 160-61.

4 Bryce 1986: 160. One name, *Zaχaba* (M 134; Schmitt 1982a: 28 no. 31; 1982b: 387; wrongly given as *Zaχabaha* in Bryce 1986: 160; see Melchert 1993a: 96), is in any case not the name of a person, but an alternate form of the city name *Zagaba* (cf. p. 55).

tlement. From the remaining seventeen, a further eight must be eliminated as being the names of Persian officials with whom the Lycians had dealings but who were not resident in Lycia.[5] This leaves only nine clearly authentic Iranian names belonging to people resident in Lycia.[6] The names are: *Arppaχu* (= Ἅρπαγος);[7] *Arssãma*;[8] *Arttum̃para*;[9] *Erbbina*;[10] *Magabata*;[11] *Mede* (and its Greek equivalent Μῆδος);[12] *Mithrapata/Mizrppata*;[13] *Weχssere/Waχssere*;[14] and *Wizttasppa*.[15] Shahbazi suggests that the name Κύβερνις, attested in Herodotus applied to a Lycian (Hdt. 7.98) derives from an original Iranian **Ufarna*,[16] but it seems more likely in fact that it is a Greek version of the Lycian name *Kuprlli* (p. 88). *Sppñtaza* may possibly be another such name, as Shahbazi argues that his name is the equivalent of an Old Persian **Spenta-data*.[17]

Not all of these, however, can definitely be said to be permanent residents. Bryce suggests that two, Arttum̃para and Mithrapata, may have been Persian officials only temporarily resident in Lycia (pp. 148-54); only those bearers of Iranian names who can be shown to have had definite personal ties to Lycia can be asserted to be residents.[18] Those people who fit such criteria are Arppakhu and Erbbina, members of the dynastic family of Xanthos; Magabata, the father of a tomb owner; Mede, a tomb owner; and two men bearing the name Wekhssere, both coin issuers. Another name, Φαρνούχης was borne by a Lycian who served with Alexander (Diod. 17.68.5; Curt. 5.4.4, 10-11; Plut. *Alex.* 37.1-2).[19]

Finally, there might be added a number of names attested from post-Achaemenid times; Bernard lists six names which are found in inscriptions of the Roman imperial period.[20] As Bryce points out, however, it is very

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[5] Bryce 1986: 160.
[6] Bryce 1986: 161.
[7] Schmitt 1982a: 17-18 no. 2; 1982b: 377-78; Bryce 1986: 161; pp. 116-17.
[8] N 318*a*; Schmitt 1982a: 18 no. 3; 1982b: 375.
[9] Babelon 1893: cvi; Benveniste 1966: 101; Borchhardt 1976: 100-02; Schmitt 1982b: 375-76; p. 150.
[10] Schmitt 1982a: 23 no. 16; 1982b: 375-76; p. 138.
[11] N 310.2; Schmitt 1982a: 23 no. 15; 1982b: 381.
[12] *TAM* i 37.3-4; ii 716; Schmitt 1982a: 23 no. 16; 1982b: 375-76; Sekunda 1991: 104-05; p. 149-50.
[13] Schmitt 1982a: 23-24 nos. 17-18; 1982b: 381-82; p. 152.
[14] Schmitt 1982a: 26 no. 25; 1982b: 376-77; Bryce 1986: 161.
[15] *TAM* i 44.*c*.48; Schmitt 1982a: 28 no. 30; 1982b: 376-77.
[16] Shahbazi 1975: 152.
[17] Shahbazi 1975: 66, following Sundwall 1913: 196, but cf. Schmitt 1982a: 25 no. 21; 1982b: 386-87; Bryce 1986: 160.
[18] Bryce 1986: 162; 1990: 536.
[19] Bernard 1964: 210 n. 7; Sekunda 1991: 100. For the name: Schmitt 1978: 45-47.
[20] Bernard 1964: 210. To his list of references for *Artapates* can be added two recently-discovered inscriptions, *SEG* 33 1164.6 and 38 1476. A seventh name, Δαρεῖος/Δαρῆος (*CIG* iii

dangerous to argue the existence of Iranian families settled in Lycia on the basis of Roman inscriptions when such families failed to leave any evidence in the Achaemenid period itself;[21] the names could just as easily belong to Iranian families who had settled in the Hellenistic period.[22] Only one of Bernard's list of names, Ἀρσάμης is the same as a name attested on a Lycian inscription; this may be no more than coincidence.[23]

Even if the names from the post-Achaemenid period are included, this produces a total of only thirteen. That this is statistically insignificant can be shown by comparison with the occurrence of Greek names.[24] No Greek settlement in Lycia comparable to that envisaged by Bernard and Balcer can be suggested on the basis of the evidence known[25] (outside of the Rhodian colonies); yet there are eighteen Greek names definitely borne by residents in Lycia known from the Achaemenid period alone,[26] more than twice as many as the most realistic count of Iranian names for the same period (discounting the post-Achaemenid instances). Even these Greek names form a minority of all the personal names attested in Lycia.[27]

In addition, the distribution of the Iranian names does not support the theory of Iranian settlement. It is true that of the seven names from the Achaemenid period, four can be connected with Xanthos.[28] When the Roman inscriptions are considered, however, a very different pattern emerges. Bernard lists twenty-five instances in all of his six names; of these only fourteen occur within the Xanthos valley and only two names are attested at Xanthos itself: there is one instance (out of a total of five occurrences of the name throughout Lycia) of Ἀρταπάτης and two (out of a total of eight) of Φαρνάκης.[29] If these names are supposed to indicate families settled at Xanthos in *c.* 540 which then spread throughout Lycia, one would expect a larger proportion of the occurrences to be in Xanthos. One should not en-

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4303.*l*; *TAM* ii 596) is discounted by Bernard as being a name which does not imply Persian descent; cf. Sekunda 1991: 103-04; on 'historic' names: Robert 1959b: 229 n. 4; 1960: 242.

21 Bryce 1986: 162-63.

22 Bryce 1986: 171 suggests such settlements.

23 Ἀρσάμης (*TAM* ii 176; 722) = *Arssãma*; Bryce 1986: 162 n. 80. Schmitt 1982b: 375 also identifies it with *ur*[*s*]*m̃a* from *TAM* i 113.2.

24 Cf. the evidence for Iranians at Aphrodisias: Robert 1983: 505-509.

25 Treuber 1887: 93. Note Robert 1983: 563-64 on the importation of the cult of the Dioskouroi and the mythical Spartan origin for Selge and Sagalassos, which tales he believes to be of Hellenistic origin.

26 Evidence tabulated in Bryce 1986: 163-65. See now on Greek names Neumann 1996.

27 Bryce 1986: 167.

28 They are *Arppaχu*, *Erbbina*, *Mede* and *Arssãma*, though the context of the last named is obscure, and may not indicate that the holder was resident in Xanthos. *Wizttasppa* is attested on an inscription from Xanthos, but the context is totally obscure; according to Melchert 1993a: 112, the name is the equivalent of the Persian *Vištaspa*.

29 Ἀρταπάτης: *TAM* ii 261 (other occurrences: Bernard 1964: 210 n. 4). Φαρνάκης: *TAM* ii 322; 391 (other occurrences: Bernard 1964: 210 n. 7).

tertain the idea that the Persians when resettling Xanthos spread their settlement throughout the valley; this runs counter to Herodotus' evidence, which mentions only the resettlement of Xanthos itself (though it has already been suggested that care is needed with Herodotus; p. 7).

Even those names that can be ascribed to persons resident in Lycia do not necessarily indicate the presence of a settled Iranian family. Iranian names might have been adopted for political reasons by the Lycian 'nobility' (this may well be the case with *Arppaχu* and *Erbbina*),[30] or the names might have been introduced through intermarriage between high-ranking Lycian and Persian families[31] (as is almost certainly the case with Pharnouches, who had a Persian mother).[32] Arppakhu's son Kheriga (and his father, also Kheriga) and Sppñtaza's son Tewinezi (*TAM* i 3.1-2; if it is the same Sppñtaza; see p. 114 below) both bear native Lycian names which have no trace of Iranian influence. It must be concluded that the onomastic evidence is insufficient to support the hypothesis of significant Iranian settlement at Xanthos.

It is nonetheless possible that some Iranian families did settle in Lycia during the Achaemenid period; this is perhaps the best explanation for the repeated occurrence of the name *Arsames*.[33] It may even be possible that some Iranian settlement *was* involved in the repopulation of Xanthos; but there is no evidence that there was ever any large-scale systematic settlement of Iranians in Lycia such as Bernard and Balcer suggest.

The only reasonable evidence for Iranian settlement is the 'Village of the Kardakes'. This settlement of mercenaries is mentioned in a letter dating to 181 from the Attalid king Eumenes II to his governor in Telemessos.[34] It possessed a fort (which in 181 required rebuilding), and is generally thought a Seleucid settlement of Antiochos III.[35] However, Sekunda points out[36] (a) that the village had purchased land from the local dynast Ptolemy son of Lysimachos, whom Antiochos had driven out; and (b) Seleucid military colonies were, according to standard practice, brought into the Attalid military system, yet the Kardakes paid the poll tax and therefore were probably not required to provide military service.[37] Sekunda therefore concludes, as have others before him,[38] that the village was an

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30 Bryce 1986: 162.

31 Sekunda 1991: 97-105.

32 Sekunda 1991: 100, 141.

33 Sekunda 1991: 102-03, though there is no evidence that Arsames was, as suggested there, a dynast. The inscription from Xanthos on which his name is attested preserves only three legible words, *Trm̃mis tuwete Arssãma* (N 318a; *cf.* Laroche 1974: 138), which are difficult to interpret.

34 Segre 1938: 190-207; Austin 1981: 330-31 no. 202.

35 Cohen 1978: 13; see now Cohen 1995: 330-31.

36 Sekunda 1991: 105-06.

37 Cf. Rostovtzeff 1941: ii, 648.

38 Launey 1949: 486, n. 4; Bar-Kochva 1976: 216-17, n. 27.

Achaemenid-period settlement.[39] However, it may have belonged to the very end of this period (p. 174 n. 18)

Even if they were not 'ethnically' Iranians, individuals adopting Iranian names show a fashion, however slight, amongst the upper strata of Lycian society. Lycian sculptural decoration, as it appeared on their tombs later in the Achaemenid period, shows many Iranian influences. A knowledge of Iranian customs and a conscious attempt to imitate them is shown in some inscriptions. Art historical evidence has been used in support of the thesis of Iranian settlement, most notably by Shahbazi,[40] and there is undeniable evidence of Iranian influence upon Lycian funerary monuments.[41]

One common theme is the orientalizing audience scene,[42] which should be compared with similar scenes from Persepolis.[43] The Harpy Tomb, probably the tomb of the dynast Kybernis (p. 89), carried such a scene on its east side,[44] and similar scenes on the other sides,[45] though the derivation of this particular instance of iconography has been questioned.[46] Similar examples are found on the Nereid Monument[47] and the Pajawa Sarcophagus,[48] both from Xanthos. It seems likely that the Lycian rulers used the Persian audience scene to depict themselves, and to emphasise both their personal power and their connection to the Achaemenids.[49]

The manner in which important Lycian heroa, such as the Sarpedoneion (p. 189), were set upon podia is reminiscent of oriental funerary architecture, such as the Tomb of Cyrus the Great at Pasargadai,[50] and some of the sculptures display strong oriental influences as well.[51] In particular one might note the city-siege frieze on the Nereid Monument.[52]

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[39] Sekunda 1991: 107 originally suggested a location on the plain of Karayük in Cabalis, but in an addendum (143), he withdraws that in favour of a location near Telemessos. See now Schweyer 1993: 40-41; Cohen 1995: 330-31; Keen 1996c: 110-11.

[40] Shahbazi 1975: *passim*.

[41] See now Jacobs 1987: *passim*.

[42] See generally on this Kaptan 1996: 266-267.

[43] For the Persepolis scenes, see Schmidt 1953: pls. 121-22, and see further the references given in Kaptan 1996: 259 n. 1.

[44] For which see Tritsch 1942: 44-48; Farkas 1974: 112-15; Borchhardt 1980: 7-12.

[45] Gabelmann 1984: 40-43 no. 15.

[46] Gabelmann 1984: 41; Jacobs 1987: 46

[47] Childs, Demargne 1989: 97-99.

[48] Demargne 1974: 61-80.

[49] The audience scene on the Pajawa Sarcophagus is a slightly different case; cf. p. 171. Borchhardt 1980: 7-12; 1983b: 216-18, argues that the seated figure on the Nereid Monument is Artaxerxes II; against this see Gabelmann 1984: 64-65; Jacobs 1987: 71-73. For the recognition of dependency upon Persia by local rulers, see Borchhardt 1983a: 105-20; 1985b: 357-61.

[50] For Achaemenid influence on contemporary and later Anatolian tombs, see Cahill 1988: 493, 499-501; Cormack 1989: 37.

[51] Bernard 1965: 272-79, 281-87; Childs 1978: 9; Bruns-Özgan 1987: 205; Jacobs 1987: 50, 51.

[52] Overbeck 1894: 194-95; Childs 1973b: 106; Robertson 1975: 403-04; Demargne 1976: 87.

One can also trace some possible Persian influences in the ideology of the Lycian rulers, as shown on the inscriptions erected by Erbbina (p. 138).[53]

In the absence of other evidence it is best to interpret this Iranian influence as suggesting that native rulers were adopting Iranian motifs in order to give themselves legitimacy in the eyes of their Persian overlords, rather than that the tomb owners were themselves of Iranian descent. Yet the Lycians looked to the west as much as they did to the east.

Hellenization

It must not be forgotten, however, that the Lycians also borrowed freely from Greek culture. Despite being part of the Persian empire, Lycia remained open to cultural contacts with the Greek world; this is not surprising, since Lycia lay on the route by which traders and other travellers journeyed between the eastern Mediterranean and the Aegean. There were already contacts between Lycia and the Greek world in the Archaic period, since Greek pottery is known from Xanthos as early as *c.* 700;[54] Metzger suggests that this demonstrates trading links, but the pottery might have been transferred through other forms of exchange, such as gifts between *xenoi*.[55]

With the Persian conquest and the unification of Lycia and East Greece, however loosely, into a single political unit, contacts became considerably more frequent.[56] A further boost to Greek influence appears to come in the fourth century, as the eastern Mediterranean was opened up to Greeks.[57]

The amount of Attic and East Greek pottery found on the Lycian acropolis at Xanthos (the only area of Xanthos sufficiently excavated) increases from *c.* 550 onwards.[58] Nor was it simply pottery that was imported. Greek artists clearly came to Lycia to work on the dynastic tombs as early as the sixth century. The burial chambers of the Lion Tomb, the 'Pillar of the Wrestlers', and pillars at Isinda and Trysa all bear distinct signs of Greek art styles,[59] with very little in the way of oriental motifs. Similarly the sculptures of the Harpy Tomb were clearly carved under the influence of Ionian workmanship, if not by Ionians themselves;[60] but by now Iranian influences were beginning to reassert themselves in Lycian fu-

[53] Cf. Herrenschmidt 1985: 125-33; Savalli 1988: 109.
[54] Metzger 1972: 188-89.
[55] On this, see Herman 1987: 88-97.
[56] Benndorf, Niemann 1884: 111, attribute this to the linking of Lycia with Ionia under Darius, though this is rejected by Treuber 1887: 96 n. 3.
[57] Starr 1977: 105-06; Bryce 1996: 44.
[58] Metzger 1963: 17, 81; 1972: 192-195.
[59] Akurgal 1941: *passim*; Demargne 1958: 32, 34.
[60] Demargne 1958: 44.

nerary art, as is shown by the tomb's iconography (p. 65). Nonetheless Greek artisans may have continued to be used; the reliefs of the Sarpedoneion (pp. 189-91) are clearly Greek-influenced, and may even have been executed by Greeks,[61] and it is suspected that Greek craftsmen may have worked on the Nereid Monument.[62]

Nor was Greek influence in Lycia confined to art. The Lycian alphabet derived many of its letters from Rhodian Greek. The coins show strong Greek influence in their design. It should also be noted that there is at least one individual with a Greek name amongst the fifth-century dynasts; the name *Tẽnegure* is the Lycian equivalent of the Greek Ἀθηναγόρας.[63]

A number of the inscriptions are in one way or another bilingual. These fall into three categories:

1. Sepulchral inscriptions, which more-or-less translate the Lycian into the Greek (e.g. *TAM* i 23)—such inscriptions may well have been a way of showing off to one's educated friends.

2. Decrees, which are again translations, of which the chief examples are the Letoön Trilingual (though the Aramaic face is a considerably more concise version), the tax decree of Pixodaros from Xanthos (*TAM* i 45) and a fragmentary decree from Isinda (*TAM* i 65). The first two are definitely from the period of Carian domination, and Le Roy's suggestion that this has to do with Greek being the language of the masters is probably right.[64] The third inscription is undatable, but there is an outside chance that it is early Ptolemaic.

3. Dynastic propaganda, i.e. the Inscribed Pillar and the Erbbina inscriptions. Here the Greek and Lycian are not translations of one another, and tend to be saying rather different things in the different sections; but the Greek inscriptions illustrate the same sort of image as the Lycian inscriptions appear to be projecting.

The relationships between Greek and Lycian segments of the same inscription has not properly been studied; often the Greek and Lycian inscriptions get treated almost as separate *corpora*. There are one or two studies of specific bilinguals—the Letoön Trilingual in *FdX* VI,[65] and the bilingual

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[61] Hiller 1975: 30 n. 50; Bruns-Özgan 1987: 24-28.

[62] Robertson 1975: 403, 404; Childs, Demargne 1989: 376. It has alternatively been suggested that this monument was the work of Lycians familiar with Greek art; so Smith 1900: 9; Childs 1981: 69, 71.

[63] Bryce 1986: 165; Melchert 1993a: 109; Neumann 1996: 147.

[64] Le Roy 1987: 41-47.

[65] Metzger *et al.* 1979.

inscriptions from the Erbbina statue bases in volume IX of the same series.[66]

Why the Lycians should have used bilinguals at all is a question that is difficult to answer, though it will have had something to do with the growing spread of Greek as a *lingua franca* in the fourth century. Le Roy[67] believes that it had to do with the Carian domination of Lycia after 360, with Greek being the official language of the Hekatomnid rulers, and Lycian the language of the locals (and Aramaic that of the imperial Persians).[68]

Although Greek was used increasingly on inscriptions in the fourth century,[69] it was almost always used in connection with a Lycian inscription. Very few Greek-only texts are known before the Hellenistic period, and the rise of the Greek language in Lycia seems to be a result of Hekatomnid influence.[70]

There is one respect in which the Lycians may have submerged their national heritage in a Greek tradition. As has been noted, linguistically it seems very likely that the Lycians were a native Anatolian people. Yet unlike their neighbours in Caria (Hdt. 1.171.5-6) there is no evidence that the Lycians in Classical times maintained any strong traditions about their own autochthony. The only story known to Herodotus of the Lycians' origins makes them immigrants from Crete (1.173.1-3; 7.92), and this tradition is repeated in later sources (Str. 12.8.5; 14.1.6; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.1.2; p. 22-25). Had the *Lykiaka* of Menecrates survived, it might be possible to arrive at a clearer idea of the Lycians' own view of their mythological origins; but from the fragments of this work that do still exist it seems to be firmly rooted in the Greek literary and mythological tradition.[71] The Lycians' familiarity with Homeric legend in the early fourth century is demonstrated by the depiction of the Judgement of Paris on the silver head-vase mentioned below (p. 70), and their use of Greek poetry in the Homeric style has often been commented upon.[72] The Lycians seem to have adopted the Greek versions of their origins, and subsequent tales of their heroes Bellerophon and Sarpedon, no doubt wishing not to appear ignorant in the face of Greek sophistication.[73] The traffic does not, however, seem

[66] Bousquet 1992.

[67] Le Roy 1987: 41-47.

[68] For the Aramaic version being for the Persians, see Hahn 1981: 53.

[69] Bryce 1986: 51.

[70] Le Roy 1987: 41-47.

[71] Bryce 1986: 208; he suggests that Menecrates was a Greek immigrant, and generally (210) believes that there is no evidence on which to base a claim that the Lycians saw themselves in terms of a Greek origin.

[72] For examples see *SEG* 28 1245.A; 39 1414; 42 1245 (with 38 1475); see Wörrle 1991.

[73] Cf. Cartledge 1997: 23: "an inclination to believe whatever accorded with the prevalent religious, political or aesthetic feelings of the group, could and did lead to an easy acceptance of sheer fiction".

to have been all one way, as Sarpedon became prominent in Greek myth (pp. 208-10).

Lycian religion on the other hand preserved many Anatolian deities. Not surprisingly, some of these became associated with Greek deities (Malija with Athena and Ẽni Mahanahi with Leto),[74] whilst other Greek deities were introduced into Lycia (e.g. Artemis; *TAM* i 44.*c*.8).[75] Some deities, such as Leto and her children Apollo and Artemis, acquired very strong Lycian associations.[76]

The evidence then suggests that Lycia had strong cultural ties with the Greek world. After the defeat of Xerxes Lycia's links with Greece were further strengthened by political ties (for which see pp. 97-107).

Synthesis

The Lycians undoubtedly were familiar with the culture both of the west and of the east. However, the absorption of Greek or Iranian influences into Lycian culture often seems to be assumed to be a product of external imperialism, whether that imperialism be military, cultural, or both.[77]

Whilst such factors should not be overlooked, room must also be made for the idea that the Lycians often consciously and freely adopted aspects of each culture they were in contact with.[78] Sometimes, even, aspects of both cultures were combined, such as when Greek art styles were used to depict oriental audience scenes on the Harpy Tomb and the Nereid Monument.[79] Yet they never fully submerged themselves in one or the other; whilst in Phrygia and Lydia a distinct 'Graeco-Persian' style developed, this is absent in the case of Lycia.[80]

Nonetheless, Lycian art did become part—indeed may even have been at the root of—a more general art style that spread from Asia Minor in the

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[74] *TAM* i 56 4; N 320.*a*.38, *b*.34; Bryce 1986: 175-76.

[75] Bryce 1986: 181-82; for other Greek deities introduced into Lycia: Bryce 1986: 181-91; for Lycian religion generally, see pp. 193-213.

[76] On Leto, see Bryce 1983a.

[77] E.g. Brewster 1993: 61: "With the advent of Alexander the Great and his successors hellenization received an overriding impulse".

[78] Note the borrowing of an epigram attributed to Simonides (*Anth. Pal.* 7.296; Diod. 11.62) in the first line of the Greek epigram on the Inscribed Pillar (*SEG* 43.1245.1 = *TAM* i 44.*c*.20); see Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI*, p. 283.

[79] Harpy Tomb: Tritsch 1942: 42-50; Berger 1970: 129 n. 329; Zahle 1975a: 61-66; Gabelmann 1984: 40-43 no. 15; Nereid Monument: Klimowsky 1964; Borchhardt 1976: 134; 1983: 217-18; Gabelmann 1984: 43-49 no. 16; Childs, Demargne 1989: 97-99.

[80] Mellink 1988a: 225.

fifth and fourth centuries.[81] A good example of the way Greek and Oriental influences melded in a single object is the Nereid Monument.[82]

Nor was the traffic in cultural items entirely one-way. Apollodorus, the author of the Demosthenic *Against Timotheus*, mentions two *phialai* of Lycian workmanship that Timosthenes of Aigilia valued sufficiently to put into supposedly safe keeping ([Dem.] 49.31). Athenaeus (11.72 [486c-e]), commenting on this passage,[83] makes the more general point that Lycian *phialai* were well-known. Earlier (11.27 [784b]) he quotes from a letter that was among the collected correspondence of Alexander, but was probably an inventory reported by one of his satraps to the king;[84] included in this are 'Lycian-made gilded *batiakai*' (βατιάκαι Λυκιουργεῖς ἐπίχρυσοι).[85] The *batiake* is explained in the preceding section by Athenaeus as a 'Persian cup', so the Lycians could produce metal for both oriental and western tastes.

The only plausible example of Lycian silverware that survives is a recently-discovered head-vase inscribed with Lycian characters (indicating that the vase is almost certainly of Lycian origin), now in the British Museum (BM Inv. 1962.12.12-1.1),[86] though a *phiale* found at Ialysos, usually described as 'East Greek' or 'Persian',[87] has ducks' heads, the treatment of which resembles that of the triskeles on Lycian coinage.[88] One might suspect, however, that much that might have been Lycian ware has been identified as general Anatolian, East Greek or even Persian. There was also a more localized export trade in military equipment; Herodotus mentions spears of Lycian workmanship used by Pisidians (Hdt. 7.76 with Ath. 11.72 [486d]).[89]

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[81] See Starr 1977: 49-115; Cook 1983: 166.

[82] Martin 1971: 87; Childs 1978: 13; Demargne 1981: 587; Childs, Demargne 1989: 369-76; Fedak 1990: 66-68; Stewart 1990: 171.

[83] And also making the false assertion that there is a reference to Lycian workmanship in the *De Corona* (Dem. 18).

[84] See Gulick 1963: 53 n. e; compare the letter from Kleomenes quoted at 393c (9.48).

[85] Λυκιουργεῖς is Schweighäuser's emendation of the ms. λυκοεργοί.

[86] First published by Strong 1964: 95-102; subsequently Barnett 1974: 893-901; see also Borchhardt 1976: pls. 18.1, 19.3 & 4; Bryce 1986: 178; A. Dinstl, "Parisurteil und lykische Beischriften", in *GHHIL*, 120-21 no. 2.

[87] 'East Greek': Möbius 1938: 156; Schefold 1938: 12 n. 7; 'Persian': Luschey 1939: 61 no. 2; Jacobsthal 1944: 53-54, who dates it to the reign of Darius I; Amandry 1958: 13.

[88] Mørkholm, Zahle 1972: 82. There are two similar examples (Perrot, Chipiez 1885: 792 fig. 554; published by Laurenzi 1936: 180 as being "non oltre V sec."), but these are thought to be Phoenician or Syrian.

[89] See How, Wells 1912: II, 157; p. 231.

CHAPTER FIVE

LYCIA 545-522: THE PERSIAN CONQUEST AND THE XANTHIAN DYNASTY

1 *The Persian conquest of Lycia*

Little is known of Lycia's history before the Persian conquest. It is said by Herodotus (1.28) to have been one of only two areas in Asia Minor west of the Halys river not to have been conquered by Kroisos of Lydia (the other being Cilicia), though he gives no reason why this should be so. Bryce points out that there is no evidence to suggest that any attempt to conquer Lycia was made on Kroisos' part,[1] and this was probably due to the fact that he had more important matters to deal with (i.e. the threat posed to him by a rapidly ascendant Persia); Lycia was not important to him as long as Lydia stayed primarily a land power, which it would remain as long as it had no quarrel with any overseas states.[2]

Akşit, on the other hand, suggests that Lycian resistance to Kroisos was a sign of their strength, whilst Frei suggests that Lycia was simply too far away from the centre of Lydian power.[3] Kroisos' consultation of Telemessian seers shortly before the siege of Sardis (Hdt. 1.78.2-3) is not the concern of this work, since Harvey has shown that these seers came from Telemessos in Caria, not Telemessos in Lycia.[4] Bryce refers to a tradition of Lycian participation in the Persian conquest of Sardis, citing Strabo (13.4.8 [627]);[5] but the geographer is referring to a tradition of a Lycian conquest of Sardis at some point before the Persian invasion.

If Lydia was not interested in Lycia, Persia certainly was. It is not difficult to see why such an interest should arise. Whilst Lydia's main enemy, Persia, was a land power on the same continent as itself, Persia's potential enemies after the fall of Lydia presented a different picture. First, once Babylon was conquered (and now that Cyrus' empire stretched to the Aegean, he could hardly afford to leave a state as powerful and as near to the Per-

1 Bryce 1983b: 32; cf. Bryce 1986: 99.

2 Keen 1993a: 74.

3 Akşit 1967: 112; Frei 1990a: 9.

4 Harvey 1991, following Daux 1941: 13; Bean 1978: 39; 1980: 97; Parke 1985: 184-85; against e.g. Ruge 1934: 414; Fontenrose 1988: 78; cf. Laumonier 1958: 611-14.

5 Bryce 1986: 233.

sian homeland as Babylon unmolested), the way would lie open for Persia to assume Babylon's position as overlord of Phoenicia and the other Levantine states.[6] Although naval power was not necessary to exert some sort of domination over the Levant (Assyria and Babylon had both managed without[7]) it would certainly be necessary to tackle the powerful coastal cities. Tyre, for instance, located on an offshore island, seems to have been able to remain independent of Babylonian power.[8] The only immediately available fleet was that of the Ionian Greeks, but this could not be used in the eastern Mediterranean without securing Lycia.

Similarly, if the empire should be drawn into conflict with mainland Greece, as was not impossible,[9] sea-power would be important, and if at that point the Persians had Phoenician naval forces at their disposal, possession of Lycia would be necessary to allow such forces to operate in the Aegean (and also if Ionian naval forces were to be used against the formidable naval strength of Egypt[10]). Hence the conquest of Lycia was essential if Persian power was to be asserted in the west.

Assuming that Herodotus is reasonably accurate in his account of the Persian conquest,[11] the actual events are easy to determine from his account (1.176.1-3):

> Λύκιοι ..., ὡς ἐς τὸ Ξάνθιον πεδίον ἤλασε ὁ Ἅρπαγος τὸν στρατόν, ἐπεξιόντες καὶ μαχόμενοι ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολλοὺς ἀρετὰς ἀπεδείκνυντο, ἑσσωθέντες δὲ καὶ κατειληθέντες ἐς τὸ ἄστυ συνήλισαν ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τάς τε γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας καὶ ἔπειτα ὑπῆψαν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν πᾶσαν ταύτην καίεσθαι· ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες καὶ συνομόσαντες ὅρκους δεινούς, ἐπεξελθόντες ἀπέθανον πάντες Ξάνθιοι μαχόμενοι. τῶν δὲ νῦν Λυκίων φαμένων Ξανθίων εἶναι οἱ πολλοί, πλὴν ὀγδώκοντα ἱστιέων, εἰσὶ ἐπήλυδες αἱ δὲ ὀγδώκοντα ἱστίαι αὗται ἔτυχον τηνικαῦτα ἐκδημέουσαι καὶ οὕτω περιεγένοντο. τὴν ... δὴ Ξάνθον οὕτως ἔσχε ὁ Ἅρπαγος.

> The Lycians, when Harpagos led his army onto the Xanthian plain, came out and fought, although they were few against many, and displayed much bravery. Beaten and forced back to the town, they brought their wives, children, possessions and slaves together on the acropolis, and then set fire to and razed the entire acropolis. When the Xanthians had done this, they swore terrible oaths, came out against [the enemy], and all died in battle. Of those

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[6] Babylonian power in Phoenicia: Thompson 1954: 212-14.

[7] Assyrian relations with Phoenicia: Grayson 1982: 248, 258, 273; Hawkins 1982: 389, 393, 413, 426.

[8] *Ezek.* 29.18; Joseph. *Ap.* 1.156 (= Men. Eph. F 7), 159; Thompson 1954: 214.

[9] Sparta had been allied with Kroisos (Hdt. 1.69-70.1) and had been preparing to answer his appeal when news came of the fall of Sardis (Hdt. 1.83). Subsequently a Spartan delegation had threatened Cyrus, demanding that he leave the Asiatic Greeks alone (Hdt. 1.152.2-3).

[10] Egyptian naval strength in this period: Wallinga 1987: 55-66; 1993: 84-101.

[11] Arieti 1995: 170 n. 219 suggests that, given Herodotus' remarks about Lycian matrilineality (1.173.5), he may be using the Lycians as an example of 'brave women'.

> Lycians who now say that they are Xanthians, the majority, save for eighty families, are immigrants. The eighty families themselves happened to be away from the city at this time and so survived. Thus Harpagos took Xanthos.

Harpagos almost certainly entered the Xanthos valley from the north, crossing Mt. Antikragos in the vicinity of Telemessos.[12] Akşit suggests that Harpagos' invasion route was the road from Kaunos to Telemessos.[13] Treuber suggests the possibility of Harpagos' forces being moved by sea from Caria to the mouth of the river Xanthos,[14] in which case the battle would take place south of the city; this would explain the lack of resistance elsewhere in Lycia to Harpagos' advance. Harpagos and the Persians, however, had no experience in such operations, and a land assault seems much more likely. The battle probably took place not far from the city of Xanthos,[15] since the Xanthians were able to retire within their own city walls when defeated. Quite why they performed their act of mass suicide will probably never be clear, if it is true, as Herodotus states, that no-one on the Lycian side lived to put their side of the story.

Herodotus' account receives some support from archaeological evidence, which reveals that there was a major fire at Xanthos on the Lycian acropolis in the mid-sixth century.[16] The imprecision of the dating, however, both of the archaeologically-attested fire and of the attack recounted by Herodotus (pp. 222-24), makes a definite correlation impossible, and the fire may therefore have another origin.

One important point that emerges from this account is that Xanthos was already one of the most important cities in Lycia. Herodotus mentions no other city taken by the Persians, and no other action of the Lycians in defence of their country. The clear implication is that the fall of Xanthos meant the fall of Lycia,[17] as would be expected given the other evidence for Xanthos' position within the country (pp. 56-60).

It seems likely that Harpagos invaded Lycia with the express plan of settling matters at Xanthos. He probably entered the country with great speed, conducting what in the twentieth century would have been described as a *Blitzkrieg*. This would explain why the Xanthians were unable to meet him any further north which would have been militarily preferable; in the Athenian invasion of Lycia in 430/29 the Lycians seem to have stopped the invasion at the entrance to the Xanthos valley (pp. 131-32). Such an attack would be typical of Persian campaigns of this period; Cyrus' inva-

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[12] Treuber 1887: 91.
[13] Akşit 1967: 112.
[14] Treuber 1887: 91 n. 2.
[15] Treuber 1887: 91.
[16] Metzger 1963: 1, 17-18, 22, 31-32, 46-47, 81; 1972: 192-95.
[17] Bryce 1986: 100.

sion of Lydia (described as a 'Blitzkrieg' by Frei[18]) was conducted at such speed that the Lydians had no advance warning before he arrived at Sardis (Hdt. 1.79.2). No doubt the Lycians guessed that an attack was about to be launched on their lands; the occupation of Caria must have alerted them to this possibility, although Treuber suggests that the Lycians believed that the Persians would restrict themselves to conquering the old Lydian kingdom.[19] Harpagos' forces, however, arrived before the Lycians could properly prepare their defences; as Bryce notes, Harpagos seems to have marched to Xanthos without impediment.[20]

How the Persian surprise was sprung is perhaps revealed by Herodotus' account of the fall of Kaunos. Kaunos was an obvious staging post for an army passing from Caria to Lycia, past which an attacking army would have to proceed, yet Herodotus reports the fall of Kaunos after that of Xanthos (1.176.3). It is possible that Herodotus has misrepresented the chronology and the true order of events is better represented by his opening remarks describing this campaign of Harpagos as being against 'Carians and Kaunians and Lycians' (1.171.1). On the other hand, Herodotus does say that the Kaunians imitated the Xanthians in their method of resistance to the Persians. Whether he means by this that they were inspired by the Lycian example is open to question, but if the Kaunian destruction came first one might ask why Herodotus devotes more space to the second such event than to the first. Treuber accepts Herodotus' order of events as correct.[21]

Perhaps what happened was that Harpagos originally set out with the proclaimed intention of seizing Caria, then Kaunos and then Lycia (perhaps giving this information to the Ionians and Aeolians who were to be serving under him), which would mean that the Lycians could hope to avoid attack until Kaunos had fallen; when Harpagos had conquered Caria, however, he chose to bypass Kaunos for the time being and launch his surprise attack on Lycia. He must then have ignored the more northerly cities of the Xanthos valley, such as Araxa, Tlos and Pinara. This would make military sense, as these cities are in extremely inaccessible locations where a successful siege would have been very difficult; the Persian hope would be that once Xanthos was defeated, these northern cities, and the rest of Lycia, would submit peacefully; this hope seems to have been borne out by events.

Treuber suggests that there were also Patarans and possibly Tloans and Pinarans in the Lycian force that defended Xanthos.[22] Though there is no

[18] Frei 1990a: 9.
[19] Treuber 1887: 91.
[20] Bryce 1986: 100.
[21] Treuber 1887: 91 n. 2.
[22] Treuber 1887: 91-92.

evidence, this is not unlikely in the case of Patara, since Patara was at this time merely the port of Xanthos (p. 60). For Tlos and Pinara, however, probably already cut off from Xanthos by Harpagos' advance, it would have been both unwise and perhaps impossible to send aid to Xanthos. If, as will be seen, the Persian advance was so swift that the Xanthians were unable to recall all their population from the summer pastures, then Tlos and Pinara would seem unlikely to have been able to organize contingents of troops to send to the assistance of Xanthos.

According to Isocrates, Persia never managed to subdue Lycia (4.161). This may well have been written at a time when Lycia was in revolt from Persia, at some time *c.* 380, and may also reflect a light Persian touch in the area, but as a general statement of fact it is simply wrong.[23]

2 *The repopulation of Xanthos*

The city of Xanthos was clearly repopulated after the Persian sack; indeed, the sack seems not to have been quite as universally destructive as Herodotus would suggest, and the city soon recovered.[24] According to Herodotus (1.176.3), eighty families survived the holocaust, through being fortuitously absent.[25] As Bean suggests (p. 21), these families were in all probability at their summer pastures high up on the plateaux above the Xanthos valley;[26] they must have been cut off by the speed of Harpagos' advance with no time to return to their city. This means that the sack of Xanthos must have happened between May and early September, more probably late in this period if Harpagos' fighting in Caria is to be fitted into the early stages of the campaigning season.

The descendants of these families were still Xanthians in Herodotus' day, but clearly must have formed only a minority of the population.[27] It is very difficult to reach any firm conclusions about the population size of ancient cities,[28] but eighty families would be unlikely to provide more than a hundred or so adult males, and even small cities seem to have had closer to a thousand such in all. From Herodotus' choice of words about the new inhabitants of Xanthos, it seems likely that they were resettled from else-

[23] P. 84. Isocrates' passage certainly should not have the weight that is placed upon it by e.g. Hornblower 1994b: 219.

[24] Demargne, Metzger 1967: 1381; cf. Treuber 1887: 83.

[25] Herodotus describes them as *histiai* (ἱστίαι), which probably refers to individual family units; Treuber 1887: 93; Sheets 1981: 64 *ad* 1.176.3; Bryce 1986: 99.

[26] Bean 1978: 50. Treuber 1887: 93 suggests as an alternative possibility that they came from a colony of Xanthos, perhaps in eastern Lycia. For Xanthian colonies, see Steph. Byz. 129.1 *s.v.* Ἀρτύμνησος (= Menecr. Xanth. F 1).

[27] Treuber 1887: 92.

[28] Nixon, Price 1990: 159-61.

where in Lycia. Herodotus describes them as "those Lycians who now say that they are Xanthians" (οἱ νῦν Λυκίοι φαμένοι Ξανθίοι, 1.176.3), which probably should be taken as implying that whilst their claim to being Xanthians did not date back much more than a century, there was nothing illegitimate about their claim to being Lycians.[29]

It has often been argued, however, that the new inhabitants, or at least a proportion of them, were Iranian settlers. As argued above (pp. 61-64), widespread Iranian settlement seems unlikely, and one must assume instead that the resettlement of Xanthos was carried out by moving families from other parts of Lycia to the capital.

In general, the period after the time of the Persian conquest seems to have been one of increasing prosperity for Xanthos in particular and the Lycians in general; it is at this time that tombs began to be constructed out of stone rather than wood (p. 184).

3 *Harpagos of Xanthos?*

There is one last settlement of an Iranian family in Lycia which is widely believed to have taken place, but which has no more support than that already discussed: the supposed settlement at Xanthos of Lycia's conqueror Harpagos. According to this theory, Harpagos was allocated Lycia as his reward for services rendered and the dynasty that subsequently ruled Lycia was descended from him. The assumption first appears in the work of Fellows.[30] Subsequently, Babelon describes the later dynast Arttum̃para (p. 148-52) as perhaps the last of the Harpagids and Tritsch declares it a 'fact' that Lycia was ruled by the family of Harpagos.[31] Most recently, Vismara and Martini have used the term 'Harpagid' to describe one of their categories for the Lycian coins.[32]

It cannot be argued, however, as Shahbazi attempts,[33] that the resistance of Xanthos to Harpagos would mean that the Persians would not trust a Lycian in charge of this city again. This argument takes little account of the many occasions on which the Persian King did continue to employ people who had revolted against his authority, or might otherwise appear to be untrustworthy; examples include Euagoras of Salamis and Mausolos of Caria, both of whom remained in power after revolting against Artaxerxes II, and

[29] Treuber 1887: 93-94.

[30] Fellows 1841: 436, 493; subsequently in Lloyd 1845: 95; Rawlinson 1897: I, 250 n. 6; Maspero 1900: 624; How, Wells 1912: I, 135 *ad* 1.176.3; now Jacobs 1987: 27-29. The theory was dismissed by Treuber 1887: 94.

[31] Babelon 1893: cvi; Tritsch 1942: 47.

[32] Vismara 1989: II, 13-32; 1993.

[33] Shahbazi 1975: 44-45.

Themistokles of Athens, who was granted the income from estates in Asia Minor despite the fact that his resistance to Xerxes' invasion might not have made him an obvious choice for such a position.[34] Only a few years before the conquest of Lycia, Cyrus had left a Lydian, Paktyes, in charge of the finances of Sardis (Hdt. 1.153.3). The fact that Paktyes had immediately revolted might have led to a change in policy as regards Persian use of natives,[35] but to prove this with regard to Lycia one would have to demonstrate that the later dynasty had an Iranian character.

As has already been shown, the evidence for Iranian settlement in Lycia is minimal, and although the ruling dynasts displayed more of an Iranian nature than their subjects, they also retained strong native characteristics. With the exception of Erbbina, who reigned at the beginning of the fourth century, the Xanthian dynasts continued to have Lycian not Iranian names, used Lycian characters on their coinage and, with the exception again of Erbbina, were buried in pillar tombs, a uniquely Lycian method of burial.[36] This behaviour is much closer to that of such local dynasts as the later Hekatomnids than that of a genuine Iranian noble family settled in a conquered territory, of which the best example is the family of Pharnakes in Phrygia.[37]

Although Lloyd claims that it was usual under the Persian system for the conqueror of a province to become its satrap and possibly pass the province on within his family,[38] examples of such occurrences are few and far between[39] (not least because Cyrus and Darius led most of the campaigns of conquest that created the Persian empire personally). Even if Harpagos was rewarded with territories in the west, it is not easy to understand why he should have been given Lycia as his most important possession, clearly the implication of the Harpagid theory.

From Harpagos' role in Cyrus' accession (Hdt. 1.123-29, despite the fanciful elements) and his subsequent career, it is clear that he was one of the most powerful men in the Persian empire.[40] It is difficult to see why he should have been content to set up his dynasty in a relatively small area of the empire when, if rewarded by territories in the west, he would have been quite able to take estates in the richer areas of Lydia or Ionia.[41] In any case, Lycia at this time was probably an appendage of the Carian satrapy

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34 Further examples of royal leniency: Austin 1990: 303.

35 But see Young 1988a: 42.

36 Keen 1992a: 53.

37 Hekatomnids: Hornblower 1982: 34-51; family of Pharnakes: Sekunda 1988: 178.

38 Lloyd 1845: 95.

39 I am grateful to Dr Sekunda for discussing this point with me.

40 Cook 1985: 274-75.

41 Shahbazi 1975: 45, seems to believe that Harpagos was ruler of Lydia, begging the question why, if this were so, he chose to establish his ruling seat at Xanthos and not Sardis, as every subsequent ruler of Lydia under Persia was to do.

(p. 84), and so any satrapal seat would have been in Caria rather than Lycia. Moreover, whilst a later individual by the name of Harpagos does appear in the reign of Darius (Hdt. 6.30) acting in western Asia Minor, it is clear that he had also spent a considerable amount of time at the Persian court, so it is impossible to say whether he came originally from the west or from Persia; if the latter, it could reasonably be argued that the main branch of the Harpagid family stayed in the east.

The chief piece of evidence in support of the Harpagid theory is the appearance of a man named Arppakhu on the Inscribed Pillar at Xanthos (*TAM* i 44.*a*.1-2, 30, *c*.24; for the Pillar as a source, see pp. 9-10). From the Greek text on the Pillar it is clear that *Arppaχu* was the Lycian equivalent of the Greek *Harpagos*. The owner of the tomb was the son of Arppakhu, had an unclear relationship (the inscription is damaged) to Kheriga, and was grandson of Kuprlli, who was presumably the same man as the mid-fifth century coin-issuing dynast.

If the tomb owner is correctly restored as the late fifth-century dynast Kheriga (pp. 130-39), then the only relationship to the other Kheriga that makes sense is that of grandson; it seems unlikely that any other relationship would have preceded that of the younger Kheriga with his grandfather Kuprlli (an uncle-nephew relationship seems out of the question, since Kheziga, who is identified as the younger Kheriga's uncle, is mentioned after the grandfather Kuprlli). The order of names and the common ancient practice by which one's first son was named after one's father make it almost certain that Kuprlli, the younger Kheriga's predecessor as dynast, was his maternal, rather than paternal, grandfather and so Arppakhu and Kuprlli were not blood relations. Whatever relationship Arppakhu had to Cyrus' general, he cannot have been a direct descendant, since it is inconceivable that the Median Harpagos would settle with his family in Lycia and then live under someone else's rule.[42]

Other evidence brought in support of the Harpagid theory is very weak. The twelfth century A.D. writer Zonaras (3.26a) does state that Cyrus placed Lycia in the hands of a satrap,[43] but this is a mistake for Lydia (p. 83), whilst the possibility that Herodotus heard his (supposedly pro-Harpagos) account of the deeds of Harpagos from a descendant,[44] is no proof that such a descendant lived in Lycia,[45] as there is no evidence that Herodo-

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[42] Though this seems to be the opinion of How, Wells 1912: I, 135 *ad* 1.176.3.

[43] Cited as evidence for the Harpagid thesis by Lloyd 1845: 95.

[44] How, Wells 1912: I, 389. It is difficult to see how any account of the overthrow of Astyages that might emerge from Persia, and therefore of necessity be pro-Cyrus, could avoid being pro-Harpagos.

[45] As suggested by Shahbazi 1975: 44. Having used Herodotus' account of Harpagos to justify the presence of a Harpagid dynasty at Xanthos, he later (69-70) uses this latter supposition to justify the belief that Herodotus got his account from Lycia!

tus ever visited Lycia (p. 7). Thus the notion of a Harpagid dynasty established at the conquest of *c.* 540 must be rejected as being without evidential support.[46]

4 *The foundation of the 'Xanthian' dynasty*

It seems likely that the dynastic system predated the Persian conquest (pp. 39-40), and it is unlikely that any substantial changes were made. As already noted, this would be standard Persian policy in the absorption of small areas, similar to the survival of the kings of Cilicia. It is therefore best to assume that the Persians left the internal political structure untouched and used it as the instrument of their rule,[47] despite the arguments of Bryce.[48]

Central and eastern Lycia were, according to Bryce's theory, only brought into the political organization centred upon Xanthos by Persian support of the rule of the 'Xanthian' dynasts. As noted above (p. 73), however, the collapse of Xanthos seems to have brought about the collapse of the whole of Lycia, including the central and eastern parts of the country; certainly no resistance in these areas is heard of. It must therefore be asked whether this was because Xanthos was the ruling state of all Lycia at this time, or because it was clear to the other cities that resistance would be futile, or simply because the Persians did not consider this area worth concerning themselves with.[49]

Current knowledge of Lycian history before *c.* 540 makes answering this question difficult. The colonizing activities of Rhodes in eastern Lycia in the seventh and early sixth centuries suggest that Xanthos had little influence there at this time; but the Xanthian dynasty had control of eastern Lycia by the 460s, as Kuprlli is known to have been minting at Limyra by this time.[50]

Hecataeus describes Phellos in central Lycia as a Pamphylian city (F 258). As Treuber notes, this can only mean that as far as Hecataeus was concerned, the western frontier of Pamphylia came as far as Phellos,[51] which would mean that 'Lycia', i.e. the Xanthian state, ruled no further east than this. Contemporary with Hecataeus' writings, however, are the pillar tombs at Trebendai and Trysa (p. 40), the presence of which might suggest that these cities' governments were being patterned on or in some

46 See Legrand 1932: 109; Petit 1990: 38 n. 107.
47 Treuber 1887: 95-96; Olmstead 1948: 242-43; Zimmermann 1992a: 21.
48 Bryce 1983b: 32-33; 1986: 100.
49 Treuber 1887: 92.
50 Spier 1987: 36; p. 111.
51 Treuber 1887: 89.

way influenced by that of Xanthos, where pillar tombs are first known. Both sites, however, are some way to the east of Phellos. Perhaps the evidence can be interpreted by assuming that certainly before the Persian conquest and probably until the late sixth century the eastern border of the Xanthian state itself was somewhere to the west of Phellos, yet Xanthos naturally had considerable influence over its central-Lycian neighbours, i.e. Trebendai and Trysa lay outside the political boundaries of Lycia, but within the cultural. The proximate cause of the apparent collapse of the central and eastern Lycian states after the fall of Xanthos would be a realization that surrender to Persia was the only expedient option.

Possibly these states were initially subject directly to Persia. At some point, however, they clearly became subject to Xanthos, and this must have occurred by the 460, by which time the Lycian state seems to have stretched as far as Limyra. The fact that some states in central and eastern Lycia later issued coinage independently of dynasts, such as Phellos (M 119) and Aperlai (M 112-14), might indicate that they had established their mints before coming under Xanthian rule; this would place their subjection after the introduction of coinage to Lycia *c.* 520-500.[52] This extension of Xanthian power in the late sixth century was perhaps as part of the administrative changes instituted in the reign of Darius (pp. 90-93).

If the dynastic system itself preceded the Persian conquest, the dynasty that ruled at Xanthos from *c.* 540 onwards is likely to have been a creation of the Persian King, since the preceding dynast at Xanthos probably died with his people in the destruction of the city. The first ruler installed by the Persians is almost entirely unknown to us; his existence can only be deduced by the assumption that the Lion Tomb is to be attributed to him (p. 40); this ruler may also have constructed the second dynastic residence at Xanthos, built on the ruins of the first in the mid-sixth century.[53]

The dynastic burial ground at Xanthos appears to have been relocated sometime in the late sixth century. The Lion Tomb had been set up on the slopes of what later became the Hellenistic acropolis, an area which at both this and subsequent times was part of the main necropolis at Xanthos.[54] The one surviving fragment of what is apparently the next oldest pillar, the Pillar of the Wrestlers, was discovered inside the lower burial chamber of the 'Sarcophagus Pillar' on the Lycian acropolis,[55] which may well suggest that the Pillar of the Wrestlers was originally set up here (the next three pillar tombs were certainly set up on the acropolis). This move suggests a

52 Zahle 1989: 170.
53 Demargne 1958: 32; Metzger 1963: 20-23.
54 Demargne 1974: 25-30.
55 Demargne 1958: 51-52, pl. xiii. The fragment, part of the reliefs from the tomb chamber, is now in Istanbul Archaeological Museum.

break in dynasties; this break may be connected with problems between Persia and Lycia in the reign of Kambyses (p. 84), although if the Lion Tomb is pre-Persian then the change of dynasty most likely coincided with the Persian conquest.[56] The new dynasty, whenever it was established, is very likely to have been the same as that which was to rule Xanthos in the fifth century, and it is perhaps possible to put a name to the founder.

In the last line of the Greek epigram on the Inscribed Pillar (*SEG* 42 1245.12 = *TAM* i 44.*c*.31) it is said that this monument has brought glory to the Κα[-]ικα γένος. For a long time this name was restored as *Καρίκας, which was supposed to be the Greek form of the Lycian *Xeriga*,[57] although it was generally thought to refer to an earlier Kheriga that the one known from coinage, since the phrase suggests praise of a founder of the family line.[58] From inscriptions subsequently found in the Letoön, however, it appears that the Greek form of *Xeriga* was Γεργίς, and this can be restored in the fifth line of the Greek epigram (*SEG* 42 1245.5 = *TAM* i 44.*c*.24; p. 130). Thus *Ka*[-]*ika* must represent some other Lycian name.[59] Bousquet suggests that the missing letter can perhaps be read as zeta (ζ) or sigma (σ);[60] the resultant name *Καζίκας or *Κασίκας would be a Greek equivalent of Lycian *Xeziga*, attested on two inscriptions, one from the late fifth century from Xanthos (*TAM* i 44.*a*.31) and one from the mid-fourth from Isinda (*TAM* i 65.13, 15, 17, 20).[61] The first inscription ties the name in to the Xanthian dynasty; that Kheziga was the uncle of Kheriga.

An alternative Greek version, known to Herodotus, may be Κοσσίκας (p. 88); it is of course entirely possible for there to be two different Greek transliterations of the Lycian name in two different places. This representation of the *z* of *Xeziga* by σσ suggests that the restoration *Kasikas* in the epigram on the Inscribed Pillar is the more likely.[62]

If the above speculation is accurate, the dynasty was founded by a man

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[56] Bryce 1986: 101 associates the establishment of the later Xanthian dynasty with the first coins in Lycia *c.* 520 (Zahle 1989: 170 dates the introduction of coinage about twenty years later).

[57] Kalinka 1901: 46; Sundwall 1913: 96. Cf. Eichner 1993: 138 n. 116.

[58] Childs 1981: 70 n. 90.

[59] Childs 1979: 99 n. 12, and Bryce 1982b: 33 n. 20; 1986: 98 n. 127, who both want to restore Kherēi as the tomb owner, suggest that Γεργίς and *Καρίκας could be alternative forms of *Xeriga*. This interpretation is of course impossible if Γεργίς is restored in the epigram; there would hardly be two such different versions of the same name within a few lines on the same monument. The name Karika is known from other Anatolian inscriptions, but at *SEG* 38 1351 (from Aspendos) it is a woman's name.

[60] Bousquet 1987: 127; 1992: 173. See also Bryce 1991: 83 n. 30.

[61] *TAM* i 44—the Inscribed Pillar—is securely dated (p. 9). 65 is dated by Heberdey 1898: 41 on the basis of letter-forms. The Kheziga referred to is probably not the same as that referred to on the Inscribed Pillar (see Zimmermann 1992a: 33.

[62] See Gusmani 1992 and Neumann 1996: 145 on the general tendency for Greek to represent Lycian *z* with σ.

named Kheziga, who was probably a high-ranking Lycian, made dynast of Xanthos by the Persians. It is unlikely that either he or his predecessor came from Xanthos, as the surviving families from the destruction of Xanthos in *c.* 540 would on the whole have come from amongst the lower classes who personally husbanded their animals.[63]

Details of the career of Kheziga (assuming of course that the suggestions made above are close to the truth) are lacking. It is possible that he was buried in the Pillar of the Wrestlers (possibly the Lion Tomb should be attributed to him instead),[64] on the assumption that there are no unknown dynasts between Kheziga and the next known ruler Kybernis, who, it has been suggested, was buried in the next known pillar tomb,[65] and was probably Kheziga's son. The Pillar of the Wrestlers has been dated to *c.* 525, but this does not necessarily give an approximate date of the death of Kheziga, since most Lycian tombs were prepared by the owners whilst they were still alive (p. 185). Bryce also dates the new dynasty to approximately this time, associating its foundation with the appearance of coinage.[66]

Kheziga's decision to place his pillar on the acropolis was probably due to a need for him, uncertain in his power in Xanthos, to emphasize his authority as ruler by placing his monument in a more prominent position, where more people would see it daily, associating it with the religious centre of the city on the acropolis, and disassociating the dynastic burial ground from that of both his subjects and the previous dynasty.

5 *Lycia's relationship to the administration of the Persian empire;*[67] *the effect of the Persian conquest upon Lycia*

Zonaras describes a list of satraps posted by Cyrus to Asia Minor (3.26a), including one 'to Lycia and Ionia' (εἰς Λυκίαν τε καὶ Ἰωνίαν). This evidence is, however, likely to be corrupt, for according to Zonaras a further satrapy was established in Caria, between Lycia and Ionia. It seems most unlikely that a satrapy would be established that was divided into two sections separated by another. This suspicion of corruption is reinforced when the passage is compared with one in the *Cyropaedia* of Xenophon (8.6.7). Here is presented the exact same list of satrapies as appears in Zonaras, in the same order, except that Ionia is paired with Lydia instead of Lycia. Zonaras says himself that he has read the *Cyropaedia* (3.24d, 26d), and it seems certain that Zonaras used Xenophon as his source for this informa-

63 Hodkinson 1988: 37.
64 Keen 1992a: 61.
65 Demargne 1958: 44-45; Keen 1992a: 59.
66 Bryce 1986: 101.
67 On this see now Petit 1990.

tion. His mistake (or that of a later copyist) is to have written Lycia where he meant to write Lydia; confusion between the two is not uncommon, even in modern works.[68]

Can the satrapal system represented in Xenophon and the corrected text of Zonaras can be taken seriously, and if so, how did Lycia fit into it?[69] The *Cyropaedia*, a work of moral and political philosophy rather than history,[70] is certainly not always accepted as being useful evidence. Hornblower dismisses Xenophon by omission when he states that Caria was "not ... at this date [the Persian conquest] a separate satrapy", whilst Mellink similarly states that Cyrus "continued to rule Lydia and its West Anatolian realm [which included Caria, and presumably Mellink intends to include Lycia, even though it was never part of the Lydian kingdom] from the capital at Sardis".[71] Most recently, Jacobs has stated that a reconstruction of the process of Lycia's incorporation into the Persian empire points to its being governed from Sardis.[72]

Nothing in the sources confirms this. The Inscribed Pillar and Pajawa Sarcophagus, which do, as Jacobs indicates,[73] point to the rule of Lycia from Sardis, relate to the late fifth and early fourth centuries and it is unsafe to project their evidence back to the sixth, particularly as Persian rule in Lycia was interrupted for a period of thirty years in the mid-fifth century. It is certainly true that after its conquest Lydia was, as before, ruled from Sardis (Hdt. 1.153.3), but Herodotus gives no indication of what administrative changes, if any, were made after Ionia, Caria and Lycia had been added. The system that appears in Xenophon does bear many similarities to that of his own day, when Ionia was paired with Lydia and Caria was a separate satrapy,[74] but it also has some similarity to the satrapal system as it stood under Darius I (pp. 90-93). Under both schemes western Asia Minor was divided into three main satrapies, based on Hellespontine Phrygia, Lydia and Caria, though in Darius' system the Carian satrapy was enlarged at the expense of the other two.

It should also be noted that Xenophon provides the names of the satraps sent; he may be inserting Persian officers of Cyrus' day into the satrapies of his own time or simply inventing names, but in the absence of any evi-

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[68] 'Lydian' is accidentally printed instead of 'Lycian' at Sekunda 1991: 100.

[69] A detailed description of the Achaemenid system of administration would be inappropriate here; see Tuplin 1987a; Young 1988b: 87-91; and refs.

[70] Gera 1993: 1-13. There may, however, be more 'genuine' historical detail in the *Cyropaedia* than it is sometimes given credit for.

[71] Hornblower 1982: 19; Mellink 1988a: 211-12.

[72] Jacobs 1993: 67.

[73] Jacobs 1993: 64.

[74] The distribution of satrapies in the fourth century is discussed in Hornblower 1994b: 209-18; his assertion that Ionia was *c.* 390 an independent satrapy (Hornblower 1982: 38; cf. 1994b: 216) does not, however, seem likely to be correct.

dence to the contrary it may be possible to give him the benefit of the doubt and grant that Cyrus did make more detailed provision for the satrapies than perhaps Herodotus would suggest.[75]

Geography would make it obvious to attach Lycia to the Carian satrapy, if it existed;[76] but whatever satrapy Lycia was attached to, the rulers at Xanthos were not subjected to the same sort of satrapal interference as, for instance, the native kingdom of Lydia, where the monarchy was abolished. As Frei notes, Persian rule in Lycia confined itself to collecting tribute and demanding that the Lycians maintain peace and order;[77] whilst to an extent this simply reflects standard Persian practice, satrapal supervision of the Lycians does not always seem to have been as vigilant as in other territories. It is certainly notable that there is no evidence for Persian garrisons in Lycia before the late fourth century.[78] Lycia's status was in some ways closer to that of a client kingdom such as existed under the Roman Republic's domination of Asia Minor than that of a conquered subject land.

In this manner Lycia was similar to Achaemenid Cilicia,[79] and no doubt it was this freedom given by Persia that led Isocrates to claim that Lycia had never been subdued (p. 75), ironically at the very moment when Lycian independence was about to be brought to an end (pp. 171-74). It may be, as Frei goes on to say, that Lycia's geographical isolation was a factor in this,[80] but on the other hand it is worth noting that, given the strategic importance of the area (pp. 31-33) one might expect close Persian control; yet this does not happen.

The remarkably light touch of Persia in Lycia is shown by the story of Phanes, which took place in 526 in the reign of Cyrus' successor Kambyses. Phanes, a Greek mercenary captain formerly in Egyptian service, was in flight from the Egyptian Pharaoh Amasis and reached Lycia,[81] where he was overtaken and captured by Amasis' eunuch guards (Hdt. 3.4.2). Although Phanes subsequently escaped, the important point to note is that Amasis' guards, presumably not a very large group of armed men, were able to operate in Lycia without interference, despite the fact that they were on soil belonging to Egypt's enemy Persia. This shows not only that Persian military presence in Lycia was either negligible or totally non-existent,[82] but also that the Lycians themselves lacked either the military force

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75 Young 1988a: 41-42.

76 As suggested by Childs 1981: 55 n. 2.

77 Frei 1990a: 9: "sie beschränkte sich auf das Einziehen von Tributen und die Forderung nach Aufrechterhaltung von Ruhe und Ordnung."

78 Tuplin 1987b: 184, 237; Sekunda 1991: 107, 143.

79 Cilicia: Dandamaev 1989: 24 n. 4.

80 Frei 1990a: 9.

81 See Zimmermann 1992b: 209 for the route Phanes would have taken.

82 Cf. Treuber 1887, 95-96.

or the will to hinder the operations of Amasis.

One might suggest that Amasis, wishing to prevent Kambyses bringing the Ionian fleet to reinforce the Phoenician fleet and thus avert the invasion of Egypt, had made contact with Xanthos, promising to support independence for Lycia from Persia if the Lycians helped him against Kambyses. It is certainly the case that he had contacts with Phaselis (p. 233). The foundation of the Hellenion at Naukratis (Hdt. 2.178.2) provides evidence of similar contacts with settlements further west in Anatolia (Teos, Phokaia, Klazomenai, Knidos and Halikarnassos), so contacts with Xanthos might not be unexpected. Further evidence for Egyptian contacts with Lycia at this time perhaps comes from a Lycian inscription on a statue dating to the reign of Amasis (N 301).[83] This may be evidence for a community established under Amasis, though, of course, the inscription may not be contemporary with the statue, and the community could have been established from deportees in the reign of Kambyses or early in the reign of Darius (on deportations, see below). Not enough is known of the circumstances of this inscription to be certain.

The Lycians were possibly punished for their dealings with Amasis, if this action is to be connected with the change of dynasty at Xanthos postulated above (p. 80). The important point to note, however, is that such a situation was allowed to develop in Lycia, whereas it might have been more swiftly dealt with in some other parts of the empire.

Because of lack of knowledge of Lycia before the Persian conquest, many of the questions that ought to be asked about the empire's affect on the Lycian people cannot be answered;[84] nevertheless, some observations can be made. The questions of Persian alterations to Lycian government, of Iranian settlement and of Persian military presence have already been discussed. In Chapter IV (pp. 61-70) evidence has been presented for the assimilation of Iranian culture to that of the Lycians, particularly that of the upper strata of Lycian society. Aramaic no doubt appeared on inscriptions as an official language of the empire, though in fact only four Aramaic inscriptions are known from Lycia.[85] Landward communications seem to have been improved at some point; there was a King's highway into Lycia by the time of Mausolos' rule of Lycia in the mid-fourth century ([Arist.] *Oec.* 2.2.14 [1348a]). This may only have dated to the time of Mausolos' rule, but since it is described as the King's highway, it was more probably constructed by an earlier Achaemenid King, perhaps soon

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[83] Michaelidis 1948: 621-23; Ray 1988: 275.

[84] For the type of questions which ought to be asked about the effect of imperial systems upon subject populations: Alcock 1989: 90-94.

[85] *TAM* i 152; N 319 (Dupont-Sommer 1979: 172-74); 330 (Garbini 1977; Dupont-Sommer 1979: 131-69); *Letoön inv.* nos. 5627 (Dupont-Sommer 1979: 170-72).

after the conquest of Lycia. The probable route for such a road (since it seems to have been the Carian satrap's responsibility) would be from Caria into Lycia through the Indos plain.

There may well have been mass deportations of Lycians to elsewhere in the empire. Deportation was certainly a weapon of the Persians against recalcitrant populations[86] and was certainly to be deployed against the Lycians in the fourth century (p. 172). There is some evidence that this latter instance was not the first deportation of Lycians. Amongst Persepolis Fortification tablets dating from the reign of Darius, there are frequent mentions of *kurtaš* workers from the tribe of the *Turmir/la* or *Turmir/liya*.[87] This is possibly a transcription of *Trm̃mili*, the Lycians' name for themselves. It seems then very likely, as Hallock and Schmitt have suggested (n. 87), that the Turmila of the fortification tablets were Lycians. The legal status of the *kurtaš* is a matter of some debate, but it seems clear that many (though by no means all) of them were enslaved prisoners of war.[88] Certainly the most likely explanation for the presence of Lycians at Persepolis is that they had been deported from Lycia.

The Lycians seem to appear also in a neo-Babylonian cuneiform inscription from Nippur in 422, this time named in the form *[lu]ta-ar-mi-la-a-a*.[89] A man from this race by the name of Tilipa son of Minna had rented his field out to the house of Murašu. There was also at Nippur at the same time a joint colony between Uraštaja (Armenians)[90] and Milidâja.[91] This last name may well be the equivalent of Milyans.[92] It appears therefore that deportations to the east were carried out, in Milyas as well as Lycia proper (unless by Milyans the Babylonians meant the same as *Trm̃mili*, which seems unlikely). These could have taken place in any of the reigns of Cyrus, Kambyses or Darius.

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86 Tuplin 1987a: 116, n. 20.

87 Hallock 1969: 29; Schmitt 1982b: 373; Dandamaev, Lukonin 1989: 159.

88 Hinz 1949: 349; Falkenstein 1952: 505; Dandamaev, Lukonin 1989: 169-74.

89 Clay 1912: 53; Eilers 1940: 208-10; Houwink ten Cate 1961: 4; Laroche 1976: 19; given in Dandamaev, Lukonin 1989: 308 as *tarmilâja*.

90 Dandamaev, Lukonin 1989: 308.

91 Clay 1904: 107.

92 Dandamaev, Lukonin 1989: 308. It has also, however, been suggested that they are men from Malatya (cf. Head 1992: 14).

CHAPTER SIX

THE LYCIANS UNDER DARIUS AND XERXES

The dynast Kybernis[1]

The next evidence for a ruler in Lycia comes from some coins of unknown provenance, though clearly minted in Lycia, bearing the Greek inscription KYB.[2] These hav been connected with the Lycian who appears in Herodotus' account of the expedition of Xerxes (Hdt. 7.98).

> τῶν δὲ ἐπιπλεόντων μετά γε τοὺς στρατηγοὺς οἵδε ἦσαν ὀνομαστότατοι· Σιδώνιος Τετράμνηστος Ἀνύσου, καὶ Τύριος Ματτὴν Εἰρώμου, καὶ Ἀράδιος Μέρβαλος Ἀγβάλου, καὶ Κίλιξ Συέννεσις Ὠρομέδοντος, καὶ Λύκιος Κύβερνισκος Σίκα, καὶ Κύπριοι Γόργος τε ὁ Χέρσιος καὶ Τιμῶναξ ὁ Τιμαγόρεω, καὶ Καρῶν Ἱστιαῖός τε ὁ Τύμνεω καὶ Πίγρης ὁ Ὑσσελδώμου καὶ Δαμασίθυμος ὁ Κανδαύλεω.

> Of those sailing these were the most famous after the generals: Tetramnestos of Sidon, son of Anysos, Matten of Tyre, son of Eiromos, Merbalos of Arados, son of Agbalos, Syenessis of Cilicia, son of Oromedon, *Kyberniskos of Lycia, son of Sikas*, the Cypriots Gorgos son of Chersis and Timonax son of Timagoras, and the Carians Histiaios, son of Tymnes, Pigres, son of Hysseldomos and Damasithymos son of Kandaules.

This individual was clearly the Lycian leader, and likely to be Lycian king. Mørkholm and Zahle object on the grounds that "Herodotus does not tell us whether Kuberniskos was admiral of the entire Lycian contingent, as generally assumed, or only in charge of part of it";[3] but it seems a highly likely conclusion that the most famous Lycian in Xerxes' forces would be the ruler of Xanthos, particularly as he appears in the same list as Syenessis, who shared his name with an earlier king of Cilicia, and was therefore almost certainly king of Cilicia himself.[4]

This name appears in all the manuscripts as Κυβερνίσκος Σίκα ('Kyberniskos, son of Sikas'), but Six made the verbal suggestion that this should be emended to Κύβερνις Κοσσίκα ('Kybernis, son of Kossikas') on

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1 See also Keen 1992a: 56-59.

2 Babelon 1893: 431-32; Hill 1897: xxvi, xxxii; Babelon 1907: 506-07; M 2a, c.

3 Mørkholm, Zahle 1972: 111 n. 431. Lewis 1984: 600 believes that Herodotus himself definitely thought Kybernis was the king, but suggests that there are doubts about whether Herodotus was correct.

4 Pointed out by Shahbazi 1975: 45.

the basis of the *KUB* coins.[5] So far as the numismatic evidence goes, both names seem equally likely to be abbreviated on coins to *KUB*.[6] In favour of the emendation, however, is the possibility that *Kossikas* is the Greek equivalent of the Lycian name *Xeziga*,[7] whilst *Kybernis* appears as a proper name in Greek inscriptions,[8] and may be the Greek equivalent of the Lycian *Kuprlli*. This possible connection of part of the emended name with an epigraphically-attested Lycian name at least strengthens the case for accepting the emendation. If so, then it is likely that Kybernis' father was the Kheziga who appears to have founded the dynasty (pp. 81-82).

In contrast, there is less certainty about identifying the Kybernis of Herodotus with anyone attested in the Lycian epigraphic record. It has been suggested that he should be identified with the Xanthian king Kuprlli;[9] coins inscribed with the latter's name in Lycian which seem to form a single series are known from the mid-fifth century, down to *c.* 440 (p. 112).

There are two issues here. One is the identification of the Greek name *Kybernis* with the Lycian name *Kuprlli*. Some have rejected this, since a fourth- or third-century inscription from Rhodiapolis (*TAM* ii 922) may indicate that the correct Greek form of Kuprlli was *Κοπρίλις or *Κοπρίλος),[10] but Bryce has recently renewed the case for *Kybernis* also being a possible Greek version.[11] This does seem quite plausible; there is certainly no evidence for any other Lycian name of which *Kybernis* might be the equivalent. The variance between *Kybernis* and *Koprilis/Koprilos* as a rendition of Kuprlli might be explained by the fact that the inscription that suggests *Koprilis/Koprilos* is at least of the century following Kuprlli. In the sixth century, when Lycia was in its early stages of contact with Greek culture, there was perhaps an attempt to find a Greek rendition of the name which sounded close to the Lycian but still made sense as a Greek name in its own right; by the time the inscription from Rhodiapolis was carved, more of an attempt seems to have been made to render the Lycian as closely as possible in Greek.

The other, more important issue is whether Kybernis can be identified with Kuprlli. Since the coins inscribed *KUB* seem to date from no later

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5 The emendation was followed by Meyer 1944: 1, 147 n., but not accepted, nor even acknowledged, by Hude 1927; cf. also How, Wells 1912: II, 163.

6 Personal comment by the late Martin Price.

7 Bryce 1982b: 330-31.

8 *SIG* IV 3408; Hicks 1882: 274 no. 161.4; Peek 1969: 88 no. 28.

9 Imbert 1891: 111 no. 34; König 1936: 57 n. 3; rejected by Babelon 1910: 254; Neumann 1967: 33 & n. 5; Mørkholm, Zahle 1972: 111; Shahbazi 1975: 45; M, p. 6; Carruba 1996: 37.

10 Houwink ten Cate 1961: 6 & n. 7; Neumann 1996: 147.

11 Bryce 1982b: 331. Melchert 1994: 282 cites the equation with some approval, though he has informed me in personal correspondence that he now feels that it is by no means assured, but cannot ruled out. Neumann 1996: 147 gives little credence.

than *c*. 500, and perhaps as early as *c*. 520,[12] it is very unlikely that the same man issued both these and the last of the Kuprlli series. The question therefore is whether the Kybernis of Herodotus is to be associated with the issuer of the *KUB* coins or with Kuprlli.

If Kuprlli was minting coins before 480, as is sometimes stated,[13] then the identification of him with Herodotus' Kybernis gains weight. If Kybernis was a different man, then he would surely have minted coinage at this time, when it was needed to pay the crews of his warships and his soldiers; there is, however, no evidence as yet of such coinage. There is of course considerable uninscribed coinage (as well as coinage of other dynasts), but since Kybernis put his name on his coins in the sixth century it might seem surprising that he would not do so *c*. 480. Also, the Inscribed Pillar suggests that Kuprlli's son was called Kheziga (p. 116); this makes it not unlikely that this was also the name of his father.

A serious problem, however, for the identification of Kybernis with Kuprlli is the Harpy Tomb at Xanthos. It has been suggested that this is the tomb of Kybernis;[14] it certainly seems likely that the construction of the tomb indicates, if not the death of a Xanthian king in this period, at least that the current Xanthian king was old enough to consider making provision for his funerary arrangements.

Since the tomb has most recently been dated to 480-470,[15] if this is the tomb of Kybernis then he cannot be the same man as Kuprlli, who was still minting thirty to forty years after it was set up and would therefore have been around thirty at the oldest at the time of its erection.

There are three solutions to the problems of this conflicting evidence. First, one could revert to the position once held by some scholars that the coinage of Kuprlli should be divided between two separate dynasts (pp. 112-13), the earlier of whom could then be associated with Kybernis. The division, however, is not usually placed as early as *c*. 480, the necessary date for the change in king if Kybernis is correctly linked with the Harpy Tomb.

The second solution is to raise the date of the Harpy Tomb slightly, to *c*. 485, and assume that the issuer of the *KUB* coins died around then, to be replaced by Kuprlli, who is then indeed the Kybernis of Herodotus. How-

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[12] O. Mørkholm *ap*. Bryce 1982b: 330-31 & n. 10; Bryce 1986: 45. Hill 1897: 1-2 and Head 1911: 690 place these coins in their Series I, which they date in the period *c*. 520-480.

[13] Mørkholm, Zahle 1972: 77. Price, Waggoner 1975: 102, date the first Kuprlli series to *c*. 485.

[14] Demargne 1958: 44-45; Keen 1992a: 59.

[15] Demargne 1958: 44-46 (cf. Lethaby 1915: 19-20). Generally on the tomb: Pryce 1928: 122-24 (B 287); Demargne 1958: 37-47 & pls. 5-11; Berger 1970: 129 n. 329; Demargne 1974: 112; Zahle 1975a; Bean 1978: 56-57 & pl. 14; Boschung 1979; Bayburtluoğlu 1980: 67; Deltour-Levie 1982: 160-62.

ever, although the tomb was at one point dated as early *c.* 500,[16] current scholarship indicates that the date of 480-470 is preferable on the stylistic grounds of the apparent influence of fifth-century Attic sculpture on the reliefs.[17]

This leaves the third solution, which is to date the earliest coins from the fifth-century Kuprlli series to after 480. The date before 480 for these issues is largely based upon an early date for the closing of the 'Asyut' hoard, which has now been challenged (p. 112 n. 2). This, however, still leaves the problem of there being no coinage inscribed with Kybernis' name minted around 480, which there ought to have been to pay for Lycia's contribution to the war with Greece. A possible explanation of this is that in Kybernis' reign the right to issue coinage was restricted to the ruling dynasty at Xanthos; since the coins were perhaps intended solely for use within Lycia[18] there would have been no need to further identify them.

The coinage inscribed *KUB*, since it was inscribed in Greek, was perhaps intended for circulation amongst Greek speakers. If these coins, like other Lycian coins, were not intended for use outside Lycia, they must in this case have been intended for the one major Greek enclave within Lycia, the Rhodian colonies in the east (pp. 16-17). This issue of coinage may then provide a *terminus ad quem* for the extension of Xanthian rule to central and eastern Lycia. Perhaps at this point a number of ethnic Lycians were settled at Rhodiapolis; their presence there later is attested by a pair of sepulchral inscriptions inscribed in Lycian from the site (*TAM* i 149-50).

The identification of Kybernis with the later Kuprlli is therefore best rejected.

Lycia's place in the administrative structure of Darius;[19] contributions to the western campaigns of Darius and Xerxes

Kybernis perhaps came to rule in Xanthos some time between *c.* 525 and *c.* 500. At about the same time (522)[20] Darius came to the Persian throne (Hdt. 3.85-88; Str. 15.3.24 [736]). According to Herodotus, Darius introduced a new system of satrapies into the empire (3.89).[21] It seems likely

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16 Pryce 1928: 42; Picard 1935: 552-53 (who suggests that the decoration perhaps postdates the tomb itself); Lippold 1950: 167.

17 Demargne 1958: 44-45; Zahle 1975a: 83.

18 Zahle 1989: 171.

19 On this see now Petit 1990 103-09.

20 Cook 1983: 55; Dandamaev 1989: 351.

21 Herodotus relates that this was soon after Darius had ascended the throne, and the *Chron. Pasch.* dates the fixing of tribute to 518, but there seem to have been adjustments made to the system through most of the reign (e.g. the tribute of Ionia does not seem to have been assessed until 493; Hdt. 6.42.1); Cook 1983: 77.

that some form of reorganization and formalizing of tribute income did take place at this time,[22] and the Lycians probably found themselves for the first time facing a formal demand for regular tribute from the Persian satrap.

According to Herodotus (3.90.1), Lycia was included in the first satrapy, along with Ionia, Magnesia, Aeolia, Caria, Milyas and Pamphylia. The accuracy of Herodotus' statement has been questioned because of its failure to agree with the inscriptions of Darius at Behistun and elsewhere.[23] For instance, on the inscription at Naqsh-i Rustam, the Ionians are divided into two separate nations (DNa 28, 29), whereas they are only one in Herodotus. Against this sceptical viewpoint, however, it has been pointed out that the Behistun inscription relates to the period of Darius' accession, and further that it is a list of all lands or peoples lying within the Persian empire, not of administrative districts.[24]

In any case, the arrangement of western Anatolia depicted in Darius' inscriptions does not differ much from that in Herodotus. On the Behistun inscription, which as noted describes the situation before Darius' reorganization, Darius lists Sparda (= Sardis/Lydia) and Yauna (= Ionia) (DB I 15; *BIDBV* 5), which seem together to equate to the paired satrapy of Lydia and Ionia described by Xenophon (*Cyr.* 8.6.7). On the Naqsh-i Rustam inscription, which dates to the late 490s[25] and therefore must represent the situation after the reorganization (by which time Lydia, or so Hdt. 3.90.1 implies, had been separated from Ionia and grouped into a satrapy along with Mysia, Lasonia, Cabalis and Hytenna), Karka (= Caria) is added (DNa 30) and Yauna divided into two (DNa 28, 29),[26] but Karka and the two Yaunas could represent subdivisions in Herodotus' coastal satrapy. It should be noted that the Lycians do not appear on any of the Persian inscriptions, yet they were certainly part of the empire.

It is true that this long coastal satrapy did not exist in the late fifth or fourth centuries (unlike the other two western Anatolian satrapies Herodotus mentions [3.90.1-2], based on Lydia and Hellespontine Phrygia, which certainly did), but it must not be forgotten that Athenian conquests in the fifth century had taken almost all of this area out of Persian control, and subsequent administrative arrangements would be affected by the piecemeal manner of its recovery. Cook suggests that the coastal satrapy in fact reflects an attempt by Herodotus to reconstruct the divisions of the empire in the reign of Darius from the situation at the time of his writing, and that

22 Tuplin 1987a: 140; Young 1988b: 88-90.
23 Aramayor 1978: 6-7.
24 Cameron 1973: 51-54; Cook 1983: 80-81; Burn 1984: 109-11; Young 1988b.
25 Cook 1983: 58 & n. 2.
26 Mellink 1988a: 213.

he has assigned all the lands which had been lost to Persia in the 470s to this satrapy.[27] This, however, ignores the presence in the satrapy of Pamphylia, which had perhaps lost some cities to Athens in the 450s but was certainly back in Persian control by the time of Herodotus' writing;[28] in any case, the natural reconstruction from the mid-fifth-century situation would have been simply to extend the Lydian and Hellespontine satrapies to the coast.

The arrangement of the western satrapies may have been formed with military action in mind. Darius created a single satrapy that covered the entirety of the Asia Minor coast from Antandros to a point opposite Cyprus, essentially by enlarging the Carian satrapy at the expense of Lydia and Hellespontine Phrygia.[29] It seems very likely that this was to facilitate the movement of fleets from the eastern Mediterranean into the Aegean; once naval vessels had departed from Cyprus, providing for them would be the responsibility of a single satrap. The inland territories, Lydia, Mysia, Lasonia, Cabalis and Hytenna,[30] were another satrap's concern, presumably to allow the coastal satrap to concentrate on his naval responsibilities. This coastal satrapy is probably the whole coastal district of Asia, to which Herodotus later refers (5.30.5).

However, the satrap of this latter area in 511,[31] Artaphernes, was also satrap at Sardis, for Darius had just appointed him (Hdt. 5.25.1). This is evidence for a union of the coastal and inland satrapies, but this probably only took place on Artaphernes' appointment to the Lydian satrapy. He was described by Aristagoras of Miletos as a personal friend in 511, yet he had only been in charge at Sardis for a short period. This friendship with Aristagoras suggests that Artaphernes had been in the western part of the empire for some considerable time and it is most likely that he had been in charge of the coastal satrapy. It seems that on his withdrawal from the Thracian campaign in 512,[32] Darius decided to join the two satrapies, and Artaphernes seems to have made Sardis his capital.[33] From perhaps 511 it

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[27] Cook 1983: 81.

[28] Aspendos appears on the Athenian tribute assessment for 425 (*IG* i³ 71.ii.156-57), which suggests that it had at some point been a tribute payer. The most likely time for this would have been during Athens' Egyptian expedition: and it would have been returned to Persian control on (the renewal of?) the Peace of Kallias *c.* 448 (for which see Badian 1993: 58-60; but cf. Stylianou 1989).

[29] Assuming, of course, that Xenophon's list of the satrapies under Cyrus (*Cyr.* 8.6.7) can be trusted, under which Aeolis was joined with Hellespontine Phrygia, and Ionia with Lydia. The status of Pamphylia under Cyrus is unclear.

[30] It is unclear whether this Hytenna is to be equated the Lycian city mentioned by Stephanus (653.18 *s.v.* Ὕτεννα), which has been equated with the Lycian placename *Utãna* (*TAM* i 44.*c*.5; see Melchert 1993a: 85)

[31] The date is the guess of Cook 1983: 91.

[32] Dandamaev 1989: 352.

[33] Burn 1984: 136, suggests that Otanes, appointed to the command 'of the men on the coast'

is at last safe to say that Lycia was governed from Sardis (the location of the capital of the coastal satrapy is completely obscure, though it is likely to have been in Ionia).

There is little evidence for significant Persian interference in Lycian internal affairs at this point and the Lycians played only a small role in Persia's wars. There is certainly no evidence to suggest that they took part in the Ionian revolt,[34] unlike their neighbours in Caria. Herodotus' tale (1.147.1) that some Ionian cities took descendants of Glaukos as kings, but this is not to be taken as meaning that there were political contacts with Ionia in the sixth century which might have drawn the Lycians into the revolt; rather, it is probably a memory of the Late Bronze Age (pp. 25-27). Herodotus makes no mention of the Lycians either in the list of the alliance (5.103.2-104.1) or in connection with the battles in Caria (5.117-21).

Treuber suggests that the Lycians may have contributed to Darius' expeditions against Thrace, Macedonia and Scythia in *c.* 516-512 and Greece in 490.[35] As far as the former campaign is concerned, Darius sent messengers to a number of his subjects to provide forces for this expedition. The forces he used included, according to Herodotus, Persian (4.83.2), Ionian (4.97.1) and Mytilenean (4.97.2) troops, Aeolian, Ionian and Hellespontine ships (4.89.1), an Egyptian herald (4.141) and a Samian engineer (4.87.1). Given this heterogeneous collection of peoples recruited by Darius, it is by no means inconceivable that there was a Lycian contingent, but there is no evidence. The punitive expedition against Greece in 490, on the other hand, seems to have been formed entirely of troops from outside Asia Minor, for there is nothing in Herodotus to suggest that reinforcements were received by this force once it had reached Cilicia (Hdt. 6.95.1).

The Lycians, however, certainly participated in the expedition of Xerxes in 481-479, if the literary accounts can be taken seriously. When Xerxes was building up his massive fleet for the attack on Greece, Lycia was one of those areas ordered to participate in the building programme (Diod. 11.2.2); Bryce suggests that the entire fleet was based at Patara.[36] They eventually provided fifty ships, according to Herodotus (7.92),[37] though Diodorus (11.3.7) says that it was only forty.

These Lycian ships were all apparently triremes; Herodotus describes

(τῶν παραθαλασσίων ἀνδρων, Hdt. 5.25.1), usually taken to be the satrapy of Hellespontine Phrygia (Krumbholz 1883: 23-24; Gomme, Andrewes, Dover 1981: 14), was subordinate to Artaphernes, on the grounds that Otanes was a *strategos*, whilst Artaphernes is described as a *hyparchos*; cf. on this Lewis 1977 and Petit 1983: 41 & n. 46.

[34] Treuber 1887: 96; Childs 1981: 55 & n. 5. The owner of the Karaburun II tomb (p. 108) may have participated in the suppression of the revolt, but he may be a Persian.

[35] Treuber 1887: 96. Date of Scythian campaign: Beloch 1916: 60-61; Cameron 1943: 313; Bengston 1977: 136; Dandamaev 1989: 148, 352.

[36] Bryce 1986: 204.

[37] In 332 the Lycians provided ten ships for the fleet of Alexander (Arr. *Anab.* 2.20.2).

them as νεές, which he uses often as a term meaning triremes as opposed to the lighter pentekonters,[38] and the entire Persian fleet is earlier described as being made up of 'triremes' (τριήρεες, 7.89.1). Given that the trireme had spread slowly through the eastern Mediterranean and Aegean in the sixth century[39] one might be suspicious as to whether all or indeed any of these Lycian ships were actually triremes. Wallinga, however, has suggested that a Persian gift of two hundred triremes to Miletos in 500 (Hdt. 5.32) is indicative of Persian naval policy in general,[40] i.e. that Persia provided the triremes for the fleet, whilst the allies provided only the crews. If this was the case, then the Lycian triremes would have been paid for by Persia.

The Lycian ships came complete with marines, whom Herodotus describes (7.92; p. 229). There are, however, many problems with Herodotus' list of the forces that participated in Xerxes' invasion. Aramayor argues that none of the catalogues of the Persian empire in Herodotus represent a Persian or oriental source, but in fact derive from a tradition of Greek literary catalogues.[41] This, he says, applies equally to the satrapies of Darius and the army-list of Xerxes. It is probably unnecessary, however, to be quite so pessimistic as to believe that this means that nothing useful can be derived from these lists. If Herodotus resorted to invention for his description of the eastern satrapies, that does not necessarily mean that he did so for western Anatolia where information would, presumably, be more readily available. It has already been seen that for this area the satrapal divisions that Herodotus describes make sound strategic sense, and that the differences between Herodotus' lists and Persian inscriptions are not necessarily fatal to accepting the former.

With regard to the army and fleet lists, it has long been seen that Herodotus' estimate of the number of troops in the land forces brought into Greece by Xerxes (7.184-87) is absurdly high;[42] but the Lycian forces belonged to the fleet, where Herodotus' figure of something in the region of twelve hundred ships (7.89.1; cf. Diod. 11.37.1) has generally been believed to be more realistic,[43] though it has been suggested that this represents merely the total potential of the Persian empire for the supply of warships, and that the actual number of ships in Xerxes' fleet was in fact

[38] LSJ, 1162 *s.v.* ναῦς.

[39] Morrison, Coates 1986: 40-41: "the trieres was an expensive weapon which only the wealthiest states could afford".

[40] Wallinga 1984: 404-05; followed by Morrison, Coates 1986: 41.

[41] Aramayor 1978: 7-8.

[42] Cook 1983:114; Burn 1984: 329; Hammond 1988: 533-34.

[43] The figures are accepted by e.g. Hammond 1986: 229; Morrison, Coates 1986: 49; Wallinga 1987: 72.

nearer the six hundred mark.[44] One should perhaps then find a figure for the actual size of the Lycian contingent by halving the figure of Herodotus, arriving at twenty-five vessels in all.

According to Herodotus, there was also at least one ship from the Lycio-Carian border town Kalynda, that of the Kalyndan *basileus* Damasithymos (previously mentioned at Hdt. 7.98), which was rammed by the Halikarnassian queen Artemisia (8.87.2). However, at 7.99.2 Herodotus mentions as under Artemisia's control the ships of Kaly*dn*a. According to How and Wells, Kalydna was an alternative name for the Aegean island of Kalymnos, north of Kos,[45] and the inhabitants of this region may be referred to as *Kalydnioi*.[46] Given that Kalynda in Lycia was not a port and so might not have many sea-going vessels, it seems very possible that the ms. reading 'Kalynda'[47] at 8.87.2 is an error for Kalydna, made by a scribe who knew of the Lycian city but not of the alternate name for the island.[48] Damasithymos would therefore not a Lycian or Carian at all. One point lies against this; Herodotus (7.98) records him as a Carian.

In any case, even if Damasithymos came from Kalynda and not Kalymnos, it should also be noted that Kalynda was not considered a Lycian state until it was included in the Roman province of Lycia and Pamphylia under Vespasian;[49] previously it was considered Carian (Hdt. 1.132; Plin. *HN* 5.29.103; p. 121).

There seems no reason to dispute that a Lycian contingent accompanied Xerxes' expedition, and that this force was under the command of Kybernis (Hdt. 7.98). Depending on how large their contribution to the Persian fleet actually was, the Lycians may have sent as many as ten thousand men on the expedition.[50] They probably bore their share of the losses due to storm damage (Hdt. 7.190-91; 8.13),[51] and no doubt played their part and suffered losses at Artemision, but exactly what part was played is not

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[44] Burn 1984: 331.

[45] How, Wells 1912: II, 164 *ad* 7.99.2. *ATL* I, 495 argues that the term can only apply to Kalymnos and its associated islands, never to Kalymnos alone.

[46] Καλύδνιοι· *IG* i[3] 261.i.10; 262.ii.31; 263.ii.7; 264.ii.28; 265.ii.18 [entirely restored]; 267.iii.26; 269.v.7; 270.v.5 [entirely restored]; 271.ii.84; 272.ii.80; 279.i.55; 281.i.10 [heavy restoration]; 290.i.19.

[47] The toponym Κάλυνδα is otherwise first found in literature in Str. 14.2.2 [651] (ms. Κάλυμνα) and in epigraphy in *SEG* 26 624.i.C.8 (late third century).

[48] Macan 1908: I, 494 *ad* 8.87.2 (cf. *ATL* I, 504 n. 1) and Munro 1926: 312, take the view that Damasithymos was dynast of Kalydna, as does Burn 1984: 466; ***contra*** How, Wells 1912: II, 265 *ad* 8.87.2; *ATL* I, 504; and Hornblower 1982: 22; these keep to Herodotus' text as it stands.

[49] Bean 1978: 30.

[50] The crew of a trireme was approximately two hundred men (Hdt. 7.184.1); see Morrison, Coates 1986: 107-08.

[51] Burn 1984: 331, is sceptical about the level of storm losses reported in Herodotus, but even if these losses were not quite those reported by Herodotus, it seems not unlikely that, given the tendency for triremes to suffer badly in storms, they were probably quite severe.

certain.

At Salamis[52] the Lycians are not mentioned by Herodotus, but according to Diodorus (11.19.1) they were in the Persian line with the Cilicians and Pamphylians.[53] These ships held the line at first, but when the Phoenician ships on the Persian left broke, so did the Anatolian vessels in the centre. It is likely that the Lycian ships suffered considerable casualties,[54] for Diodorus does not list them amongst those sections of the fleet felt to have performed badly. Nor were they listed amongst those allies whom Artemisia attacked before the battle as being unreliable (Hdt. 8.68γ), nor amongst those who were claimed by Mardonios to have disgraced themselves (Hdt. 8.100). Herodotus says that many allies were killed (8.89), and it is possible that one of these was Kybernis,[55] a possibility which is more attractive when it is considered that the battle of Salamis falls within the date range for Kybernis' monument, the Harpy Tomb (p. 89).[56] That Herodotus does not mention Kybernis' death at Salamis is no proof that it did not occur, since Syennesis of Cilicia, whom Herodotus mentions in the fleet list (7.98) without indicating his fate elsewhere, is said by Aeschylus (*Pers.* 326-29) to have died at Salamis.

Whatever the case, the fleet clearly returned home having left many of Lycia's menfolk, including perhaps their leader, in the waters off Attica; Balcer suggests that Lycia did not soon recover,[57] but this is unprovable without knowing underlying demographic trends. It is the case that Lycia, which had provided perhaps forty triremes in 480, paid in yearly tribute to Athens in the 450s only enough tribute to keep ten ships in commission for a month,[58] but since the Persian empire might have been partially paying for the Lycian fleet anyway this does not tell us much; nor does the fact that the Lycians do not seem to have been able to raise the manpower to put a fleet of forty ships in action for at least the rest of the fifth century, since it is unknown what proportion of the crews were made up of slaves or mercenary rowers, perhaps again paid for partially by Persia.

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[52] On the Lycians at Salamis, see now Lazenby 1993: 187-88, 193.

[53] Shahbazi 1975: 49 suggests that the Lycian fleet was grouped with the Ionian and Carian fleets under Ariabignes (on the grounds that Herodotus implies that the fleets were divided up according to satrapy); he is presumably unaware of Diodorus' evidence.

[54] Shahbazi 1975: 49 believes that casualties were high because the Lycians were in the section of the fleet under the command of Ariabignes which supposedly Herodotus identifies as being that which suffered most; at the passage Shahbazi cites (8.89), however, Herodotus is not singling out any particular section, but generalizing about casualties.

[55] Shahbazi 1975: 49, implies that Herodotus himself was alluding to the death of Kybernis, among others, but this is not a necessary assumption.

[56] Many bodies of Persian officers seem to have been lost at sea (cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 303-17); the same may have happened to Kybernis.

[57] Balcer 1984: 319.

[58] For the calculation: Th. 6.8 & Morrison, Coates 1986: 108; on Lycia's tribute, see p. 122-23.

CHAPTER SEVEN

LYCIA'S ENTRY INTO THE DELIAN LEAGUE

Kimon's campaign in Lycia

The expedition of the Spartan regent Pausanias to Cyprus in 478[1] must have passed through Lycia and involved some form of temporary winning-over of the area, since otherwise Pausanias could not have reached the eastern Mediterranean; but the silence of the sources on this matter allows no conclusions to be drawn as to the exact nature of the Lycian submission. Presumably the shock of the Persian defeats at Salamis, Plataia and Mykale persuaded the Lycians not to resist.[2] This allegiance to the Greeks cannot have lasted for long, since the Lycians were clearly back in the Persian empire by the time of the next Greek expedition in the area, that of Kimon in the late 470s or early 460s.[3]

Only one literary source directly refers to Lycia's entry into the Athenian sphere of influence, although other sources perhaps refer obliquely; this is Diodorus' account of the Eurymedon campaign (11.60.4), which almost certainly follows that of Ephorus:

> πλεύσας οὖν μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ στόλου πρὸς τὴν Καρίαν, τῶν παραθαλαττίων πόλεων ὅσαι μὲν ἦσαν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀπῳκισμέναι, ταύτας παραχρῆμα συνέπεισεν ἀποστῆναι τῶν Περσῶν, ὅσαι δ' ὑπῆρχον δίγλωττοι καὶ φρουρὰς ἔχουσαι Περσικάς, βίαν προσάγων ἐπολιόρκει. προσαγαγόμενος δὲ τὰς κατὰ τὴν Καρίαν πόλεις, ὁμοίως καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ Λυκίᾳ πείσας προσελάβετο.

> Therefore he [Kimon] sailed with the whole fleet to Caria, and at once persuaded those of the coastal cities which had been colonized from Greece to revolt from the Persians; but the ones which began as bicultural and had Persian garrisons, these he besieged and brought over by force. Once he had

[1] Aesch. *Pers.* 891-92; Thuc. 1.94, 128.5; Diod. 11.44.2-3; Nep. *Pausanias* 2.1-2; Paus. 3.4.9.

[2] Tuplin 1996: 43, notes in a discussion of Pausanias at Cyprus that the island must have rebelled in the wake of the Persian defeats and the defection of the Ionian Greeks, as otherwise Pausanias' conquest is impossibly swift; the same criteria must presumably apply to Lycia, though if there was a revolt, it was (like that on Cyprus) short-lived.

[3] The exact date of Kimon's campaign is tied up with that of the Eurymedon campaign and the other events in this period, for which see Rhodes 1992: 44-46. A precise date does not significantly effect the argument here, though my own preference (discussed in Keen 1992b: 264-76) is for a date for the campaign of *c.* 471.

brought over the cities in Caria, in a like manner he persuaded those in Lycia and took them into his allegiance.

Some fragments of what is either Ephorus' account of the Eurymedon campaign or, more likely, an epitome were found amongst the Oxyrhynchus Papyri.[4] Although the section of the epitome dealing with Lycia is lost, it is quite clear that Diodorus was working from this particular text since the first half of the Diodorus passage is an almost exact copy of the surviving text; the survival of the epitome at this point would therefore probably add little (the survival of what Ephorus actually had to say would probably add rather more).

The Diodorus passage has been dismissed by a number of authorities, who would prefer to date Caria's and Lycia's entrance into the League to after the Eurymedon,[5] perhaps due to the absence of any mention of this campaign in Thucydides' account of the battle (1.100.1). Beloch's arguments against Diodorus' account are, first, that the Carian and Lycian cities would have been unlikely to have come over to Athens at a time when there was a Persian fleet gathering at Aspendos; secondly, that Kimon would not have wasted time with Caria and Lycia anyway.[6] This leads to the view that Caria and Lycia revolted from Persia after the victory at the Eurymedon,[7] a view rightly dismissed as being contrary to the sources by Steinbrecher.[8] The authors of *ATL*, whilst generally supporting Diodorus' account, note that "it implies that Kimon brought over all the Carian cities, which was certainly not the case", seemingly basing this judgement on the list of Carian cities appearing on the tribute lists (the first of which dates to 454/3).[9]

Diodorus' account should be accepted.[10] It contradicts nothing in Thucydides, whose account of the campaigns leading up to the Eurymedon is cursory in the extreme.[11] There is further evidence for such a campaign in Plutarch, who states (*Cim.* 12.1) that Kimon cleared Asia Minor of Per-

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4 *P.Oxy.* xiii 1610 fr. 6-13, 53 = Ephor. F 191.56-61.

5 E.g. Kluge 1910: 5; Beloch 1927: 68 & n. 3; Gomme 1945: 290 (who considers Diodorus' whole account dubious solely, it would appear, on the basis of what Gomme sees as his confused report of the battle of the Eurymedon); Powell 1988: 20 ("Diodorus adds nothing reliable to Thucydides").

6 Beloch 1916: 159-60. Beloch's other comment, that if the winning of Caria and Lycia is placed before the Eurymedon, no consequences are left for the battle itself, hardly stands as an argument.

7 Beloch 1927: 68 & n. 3; Laistner 1947: 9; Ehrenberg 1973: 201. Walker 1927: 43, states that the Carian territories were not brought in "until the campaign of Eurymedon"; it is unclear whether he considers the seizure of the Carian and Lycian coasts as part of this campaign.

8 Steinbrecher 1985: 107.

9 *ATL* III, 210.

10 So Kirchhoff 1878: 20-21; Busolt 1897: 143; *ATL* III, 209-10; Houwink ten Cate 1961: 5; Metzger 1963: 81; Meiggs 1972: 73-74; Childs 1981: 56; Bryce 1986: 103-04.

11 Beloch 1916: 159.

sians as far as Pamphylia, and in Frontinus (*Str.* 3.2.5), who describes an attack by Kimon on a Carian town.[12] Moreover, the strategic necessities detailed above (pp. 31-33) meant that a campaign in Caria and Lycia had to be undertaken before Kimon could venture further east. As Treuber says, it is difficult to believe that Kimon made no use whatsoever of the Lycian coast;[13] it is extremely unlikely that he would be operating some two hundred miles beyond his nearest secure base without having made sure of his route back.

Diodorus' account is further supported by the assembling of Persian land forces as well as ships at the Eurymedon (Diod. 11.61.1; Plut. *Cim.* 12.2). If Lycia and Caria were not in Athenian hands at this point, whilst the Persian fleet would still have gathered at Aspendos,[14] the army would probably have proceeded overland and linked up with the fleet somewhere on the Aegean shoreline of Asia Minor, at what under such circumstances would be the border of the empire rather than at a point several hundred miles behind it. That the forces were linking up in Pamphylia demonstrates that the fleet needed the support of the army to proceed further westwards.[15]

It seems unlikely that Kimon's march through Caria and Lycia was an attempt to pre-empt a planned Persian strike against the Aegean, as some have suggested.[16] For if there was a Persian force already being assembled at Aspendos before the Athenians took any action in the area, it is difficult to understand what this armament was doing while Kimon's forces fought their way around the Lycian coast.[17] The Persian fleet would surely not have waited at Aspendos for the League forces to arrive but would have moved to meet them further west (although it should be noted that the prevailing winds would be in the Athenians' favour).[18] It was a large force that was being assembled by Persia, but not excessively large; perhaps four hundred and twenty ships, as opposed to six hundred at the battle of Lade

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[12] *Suda* κ 1620 *s.v.* Κιμων Μιλτιάδου records that Kimon fought in Pamphylia, but this is probably a reference to the Eurymedon campaign or its preliminaries. It is uncertain whether Plutarch and Frontinus' sources for these details were independent of Ephorus (Plutarch's sources: Blamire 1989: 4-10, suggesting Kallisthenes); Plutarch certainly cites Ephorus elsewhere in the *Cimon* (12.5, 6).

[13] Treuber 1887: 98.

[14] As Meiggs 1972: 78, notes, it was at Aspendos that the next Persian fleet known to be planning to move westwards gathered (Thuc. 8.81.3, 87).

[15] For the need for land forces to support an advancing fleet: Gomme 1937: 195-201; but cf. Lazenby 1987: 442-44.

[16] E.g. Curtius 1879: II, 140; Beloch 1916: 159-60; Meiggs 1972: 78-79; Davies 1993: 44, 45; Bury, Meiggs 1974: 208.

[17] Meiggs' suggestion (1972: 83) that Kimon was able, due to the capitulation of Naxos, to attack the Persian force before it was fully prepared depends upon his postulation of a lengthy gap between the capture of Caria and Lycia and the Eurymedon.

[18] Mason 1942: 196.

(Hdt. 6.9.1; cf. 95.2) and perhaps as many as twelve hundred in Xerxes' invasion (Hdt. 7.89.1; Diod. 11.3.7; cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 311-13).[19] If some elements of this fleet were already at Aspendos when Athenian countermoves began, as Plutarch states (*Cim.* 12.2),[20] it is difficult to believe that the time taken for the Persians to complete assembly of this force (not done even by the time of Kimon's attack) would have allowed Kimon to fight his way around a hostile Lycian coast, even if the Athenians had received some form of advance warning of Persian intentions before the Persian fleet had actually begun to assemble.

Cawkwell has suggested that the Persian build-up for the Eurymedon must have taken at least two years,[21] but his argument is based on unconvincing parallels. He cites the expedition of Xerxes, which took four years to prepare (Hdt. 7.20.1), the preparations for the battle of Knidos in 394, begun in 397/6 (Xen. *Hell.* 3.4.1), and expeditions to Egypt in the fourth century (*Hypothesis* to Dem. 14; Diod. 15.14.2, 38.1)[22] which appear to have had long advanced preparations. Xerxes' expedition and those to Egypt were, however, on a much larger scale than the force at the Eurymedon and would therefore take a longer time to prepare (and Cawkwell's statements of the time taken to prepare the Egyptian expeditions are in any case largely a matter of guesswork). The fleet that fought at Knidos was comparable in size to that of the Eurymedon, but the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* (10.1) implies that elements of this fleet had already been in action by mid-396, so on that basis one should not expect the fleet used at the Eurymedon to have taken more than a year to be made operational. Nor must one forget that Mardonios launched the first Persian invasion of Greece during the spring after the end of the Ionian Revolt (Hdt. 6.41-46); it is clear that before the end of the revolt the Persians would have been unable to make significant preparations for this invasion, and so this not inconsiderable force must have been prepared at short notice.

Furthermore, if the campaign in Caria and Lycia was a reaction to Per-

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[19] The best evidence would suggest that there were three hundred and forty vessels at the Eurymedon (Ephor. F 191.67-69; Diod. 11.60.6) plus eighty reinforcements from Cyprus yet to arrive when the battle took place (Plut. *Cim.* 12.5). Phanod. F 22 (= Plut. *Cim.* 12.6) gives six hundred (probably in fact the combined total of ships involved); Thuc. 1.100.1 and Nep. *Cimon* 2.2 give a figure of two hundred (this discrepancy is perhaps to be explained by postulating that two hundred of the Persian ships were triremes, and the other hundred and forty troop-carriers; Wallinga 1987: 73 & n. 79).

[20] Ephor. F 191.65 (followed by Diod. 11.60.6) states that Kimon learnt of the fleet when it was off Cyprus, but if this is true, which it may well be, it still seems that Kimon took no action until the fleet had reached Aspendos. The Ephoran account of the Eurymedon is usually (e.g. Gomme 1945: 286; Meiggs 1972: 75) held to be confused, but the confusion perhaps arises from the omission when Ephorus' account was being epitomized of a notice of the Persian fleet's moving from Cyprus to Aspendos between Kimon's learning of it and attacking.

[21] Cawkwell 1970: 47-48.

[22] Cf. Cawkwell 1963: 122-23.

sian preparations the Delian League must have had a fleet ready to go into action immediately; this seems unlikely. In fact, it appears that Kimon had enough time to carry out quite significant modifications to two hundred vessels before the battle (Plut. *Cim.* 12.2), so he was not pressed for time as one might expect if an enemy invasion force was nearly ready to strike.

In any case, Plutarch and Diodorus make it quite clear that the Persian fleet's presence at Aspendos did not become known to Kimon until after his forces had cleared south-west Asia Minor. A further passage in Plutarch (*Them.* 31.4) tells of a time when the Persian King was forced to prepare a counterstroke due to Kimon's control of the sea. This last evidence should not be overstressed, as Plutarch mentions this as taking place at the same time as the revolt of Egypt in *c.* 460 and the Athenian expedition there,[23] and the counterstroke could be the Persian relief force to Egypt, but the reference to Kimon's control of the sea seems more likely to be to the period under consideration here (since Kimon was in exile in 460), and it is Kimon's control which is given as the actual cause of the Persian counteroffensive.

It is unlikely that the Persians were acting to defend Lycia before the Athenians could seize it;[24] the suggestion that the Persian fleet was overtaken by the speed of Kimon's advance at Aspendos before it could move into Lycia implies an implausibly swift movement of the Athenian fleet through the area. The conclusion must then be that the gathering of Persian forces was in reaction to Kimon's offensive,[25] was not a new offensive in its own right, and was aimed probably only at the recovery of Lycia and Caria.[26]

The view that the Athenian invasion of Caria and Lycia was simply a plunder raid upon Persia[27] is also unsatisfactory, since it ignores strategic aspects to Athenian planning. Nor does it seem likely that the League was in any sense invited into the area to intervene in disputes between the local states and Persia. According to Diodorus (11.60.4), the purely Hellenic settlements in Caria came over easily enough (cf. Ephor. F 191.56-60), but native foundations resisted (cf. Frontin. *Str.* 3.2.5).[28] Diodorus (11.60.4)

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23 Cf. Busolt 1897: 137 n. 5.

24 Suggested by Walker 1927: 55.

25 Steinbrecher 1985: 105-06. Powell 1988: 20, suggests that if the Persian assembly at the Eurymedon was defensive in any way they may have received knowledge of Kimon's impending attack from a spy; this is unnecessary since the Persians could hardly have failed to notice the League's actions in Caria and Lycia.

26 Blamire 1989: 138 (who attributes this view to Meiggs 1972: 73-83). Further objections to interpreting the battle of the Eurymedon as arising out of a Persian threat to the Aegean are presented in Keen 1991c.

27 Grote 1907: 291-92; Walker 1927: 55; Steinbrecher 1985: 104-06; McGregor 1987: 40.

28 Diodorus describes them as *diglottoi* (δίγλωττοι), which presumably means states in which some sections of the populations spoke a different language to others (as opposed to the interpreta-

and Ephorus (F 191.57) indicate Kimon's interests when they describe the Carian cities attacked as 'coastal';[29] Ephorus describes them as 'so-called' (καλουμένων) coastal cities, presumably including not just those cities directly on the coast, but also those with a close connection to the sea.

The coastal route was extremely important for the Persians, since without it they were denied the opportunity of gaining access to the Aegean. From the fleet movements of Konon in 396/5[30] it is clear that a Persian fleet could without difficulty reach the vicinity of Rhodes and the Carian Chersonesos before a solely Aegean-based fleet could react. Such a position would leave the Persians within easy reach of the southern Aegean states, and provide them with two main axes of attack to choose from; either north along the Ionian coast or west to the Cyclades. Any Athenian commander hoping to stop them would have to predict which main direction they would take and which of the innumerable variations of each route they would select. Around the coast of Lycia, however, as has been indicated (p. 31), the Persians' route would be more restricted. This is the key to Kimon's strategy; by seizing Lycia he hoped to deny the coastline to Persian fleets, thus keeping them out of the Aegean and giving the members of the League protection from Persian aggression, upon which protection Athenian supremacy in the Aegean rested.

The intention then was to secure a naval 'buffer zone', leaving the Persian fleet unable to advance beyond the naval base at Aspendos, well out of range of the Aegean; this intention is made clear by Plutarch (*Cim.* 12.2), who states that Kimon wanted to make the seas to the west of the Chelidonian Isles (the southernmost point of the eastern promontory of Lycia) so dangerous to Persian vessels that they would not dare to enter them. In this Kimon was helped by the politically united nature of Lycia; clearly it was much easier to keep a single large state acting in Athens' interests rather than a collection of small *poleis* that might be beset by local rivalries.

It is possible that the Athenians had a supplementary interest in ship-timber from Lycia.[31] Lycia was also on the grain-route from Egypt, and possibly, to judge by the Roman granaries at Patara and Andriake, a source of grain itself.[32] These, however, are unlikely to have been the prime motivations for their invasion.

In any case, Athenian interest in Lycia was not as peripheral as a superficial reading of the sources might suggest; in fact the area was vital for

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tion of Oldfather 1946: 281 n. 3, that they were natives who spoke Greek as a second language).

[29] Of the modern authors cited in nn. 5 & 10, this point is only noted by Kirchhoff 1878: 20-21; Treuber 1887: 98; Busolt 1897: 143.

[30] *Hell. Oxy.* 12.2-3; Xen. *Hell.* 4.3.11-12; Diod. 14.79.4-8, 81.4-6, 83.4-7; Paus. 6.7.6.

[31] Childs 1981: 31; pp. 21-22.

[32] See Zimmermann 1992b.

Athens' strategic interests.[33] The campaign in Lycia should be looked upon not as a footnote to the battle of the Eurymedon but as its *raison d'être*.

Accordingly, Kimon led an expedition to clear the Carian and Lycian coasts (Caria would have to be cleared to prevent Persian land forces entering Lycia by the easiest route from the rest of Anatolia) probably long before any Persian fleet was in the area.

Diodorus speaks in naval terms throughout his narration of this campaign; he lists the number of ships that Kimon brought to Caria, but makes no mention of numbers of troops. This might lead to the assumption that this was a largely naval operation, with cities taken by troop forces landed upon the coast. It should, however, be noted that Harpagos (p. 73), Melesandros (pp. 129, 131-32) and Alexander in 334 (Arr. *Anab.* 1.24.4-6)[34] all went (or attempted to go) from Caria to Lycia overland, entering at the north end of the Xanthos valley. This approach may, however, have been forced upon these commanders by their lack of naval strength. Melesandros had only six ships, whilst Harpagos presumably and Alexander certainly had none; Kimon on the other hand may have had three hundred (Diod. 11.60.3).[35] His two hundred modified Athenian ships alone would give him an infantry force of eight thousand; the further hundred ships, probably from the allied fleet, would, assuming they carried the more usual ten marines, add an extra one thousand troops. This would be a perfectly adequate amount for an invasion of Lycia and it seems therefore unlikely that he entered by the land route. One should follow Diodorus and assume that Kimon's campaign was entirely of an amphibious nature.

Diodorus implies that the Greek cities in Caria had no Persian garrisons; this implication almost certainly derives from Ephorus, though only the first half of the relevant sentence survives in that text (F 191.56-61). Such an idea might seem difficult to believe; the Greek cities were clearly readiest to revolt and so it would be expected that they would be most in need of Persian garrisons. The native cities, which did have Persian garrisons, may, however, have been considered more important,[36] or the Persians may have felt more secure in them. From the parallel which Diodorus sets up between Caria and Lycia it might be deduced that the cities of Lycia, which were all native, were garrisoned. This, however, is a very tenuous suggestion, and Treuber deduces that there were no garrisons in

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[33] Keen 1993a: 71-73, 74.

[34] Bosworth 1988: 50; cf. Bosworth 1980: 156-58; Seibert 1985: 50-52.

[35] Meiggs 1972: 452 points out problems with Diodorus' figures. In Thucydides' account of other military actions the full League fleet never exceeds two hundred ships, although he does not give a figure for the fleet on this occasion.

[36] Cook 1961: 16-17 suggests that whilst the Greek cities of Asia Minor came into the Delian League, the majority of the fertile land around them remained under Persian control.

Lycia.[37] Grote states that Kimon removed garrisons from the Greek cities in Caria and Lycia,[38] but this contradicts Diodorus' implication; in any case, there were no truly Greek cities in Lycia proper.

In describing Kimon's conquest of Lycia Diodorus uses the phrase *peisas proselabeto*. In all parallel uses of πείθω in Diodorus, with a human subject and a collective object (11.50.6; 12.67.2; 16.17.1; 17.74.2; 20.26.4),[39] persuasion with words is definitely indicated (λόγοις is used at 12.67.2). There are two close parallels for this particular passage. In one (20.26.4), the Romans take Cataracta and Ceraunilia by force but win over other cities 'persuading [them]' (πείσαντες προσηγάγοντο). In the other (14.98.2), Euagoras takes some cities by force but others 'by persuasion' (πειθοῖ προσλαβόμενος). Thus it seems that in this passage *peisas* should mean persuasion as opposed to force.[40] When mentioning the Persian forces ranged against Kimon, Plutarch (*Cim.* 12.1) does not seem to be referring to native troops recruited in Lycia or Caria, as these Persian forces are driven out of the area by Kimon; native contingents would presumably have remained and been forced to surrender. Plutarch does relate that Kimon cleared the whole mainland from Ionia to Pamphylia of Persian troops before the Eurymedon, which tends to imply that there were Persian troops in both Caria and Lycia. It would be surprising if Kimon did not encounter some resistance in Lycia; but Plutarch is not explicit.

It should be noted that the majority of the manuscripts of Diodorus in fact read πάσας in place of *peisas*. If this reading is followed, the last section of 11.60.4 is to be translated 'in a like manner he took into his allegiance all the cities in Lycia'. This would then give full weight to *homoios* ('in a like manner'), which would mean that the reaction of the cities in Lycia to Kimon paralleled that of the Carians, i.e. some came over voluntarily but others resisted. The three manuscripts which do read *peisas*, however, include the tenth- or eleventh-century A.D. *Codex Patimus*, generally regarded as being the most authoritative ms. of Diodorus;[41] it is therefore probably best not to adopt the alternative reading.

Archaeological evidence from Xanthos may contradict the impression given by Diodorus. There is a destruction layer present on the Lycian acropolis at Xanthos.[42] Building 'B' on the acropolis, the second dynastic residence, when excavated was found to be covered with a layer of broken pithoi and burnt wood; in this were mixed charred fragments of painted pottery. A similar layer of Attic black-figure fragments was found over the

37 Treuber 1887: 98.
38 Grote 1907: 292.
39 Refs. from McDougall 1983: π 69.
40 Treuber 1887: 98; Bryce 1986: 104.
41 Vogel 1890: ii, xi-xvii.
42 Metzger 1963: 22-23, 32-33, 60, 68-69, 80-81.

north-east corner of the archaic terrace, within the ancient wall, and it appears likely that these fragments came from offerings placed in a temple on the acropolis.[43] In addition, the Sarpedoneion may possibly have been rebuilt around this time (but see p. 188). It also appears that the sixth-century defensive wall of the acropolis was destroyed in the early fifth century and a new one constructed after 470.[44] The archaeological evidence possibly suggests that the actual fire on the acropolis was at least as widespread as that of *c.* 540.[45]

Dating some of these fragments of black-figure pottery to *c.* 480-470, Metzger and Demargne place this destruction in *c.* 475-470 and associate it with Kimon's campaigns.[46] Certainly Xanthos falls within the coastal area with which Kimon was concerned, and since the fall of Xanthos had brought the fall of Lycia to Harpagos, Kimon might have expected the same result for the same action. Therefore it seems very likely that Kimon did come to Xanthos in the course of his invasion. Bryce, however, brings forward a number of arguments against connecting the destruction layer with Kimon's campaign.[47] First, he notes that the Harpy Tomb, which predates Kimon's attack, was left untouched; secondly, no source, including Diodorus, mentions such an attack.[48]

It is certainly true that the imprecise nature of the archaeological evidence does not provide any compelling reason to accept the association, but Bryce's arguments are not compelling either; respect for the dead may explain the survival of the Harpy Tomb, which survived the destruction of Brutus and the levelling of the entire site in the early Byzantine period,[49] whilst Diodorus' silence does not exclude the event taking place. The question of whether one is to believe Diodorus' implications or the interpretation of Demargne and Metzger must remain open.

It seems unlikely that the occupation of Caria and Lycia took up more than a single campaigning season; it should be noted that Alexander, with no naval support, took only a year to occupy the area.[50] The closing stages of the campaign seem, from the account of Plutarch (*Cim.* 12.1), to have been an advance further east in Lycia than the Xanthos valley, up to the

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43 Metzger 1963: 32-33.

44 Metzger 1963: 81; Demargne, Metzger 1967: 1383, 1386-87.

45 Demargne, Metzger 1967: 1383, 1386; but Metzger 1963: 47, seems to take a different view.

46 Metzger 1963: 80-81; Demargne, Metzger 1967: 1387.

47 Bryce 1983b: 35; 1986: 103-04.

48 App. *B Civ.* 4.10.80 notes three destructions of the city, those by Harpagos and Brutus, and one by Alexander, otherwise unattested.

49 Metzger 1963: 49.

50 Tarn 1927: 364; Bosworth 1988: 47-51; final resistance in Caria did not cease until two years after Alexander's initial invasion, but these were individual cities that Alexander had isolated and left—they also had the support of a Persian fleet operating in the Aegean.

borders of Pamphylia.[51] Xanthos was the chief city of Lycia, and so its capture might be expected to have eliminated most resistance throughout the country; despite this Kimon carried on campaigning to the east, and it must be asked why. His actions may have been simply a precautionary measure, or it may be that eastern Lycian dynasts chose to remain pro-Persian rather than follow the lead of Xanthos. Perhaps most likely is a desire to capture Phaselis. A potential Persian naval base at Phaselis would probably have been too close to the Aegean to be acceptable.

Yet Kimon did not take Phaselis at the end of this campaign. Plutarch describes the clearing of Persian forces from Asia up to Pamphylia (*Cim.* 12.1) and then the battle of the Eurymedon, which is immediately preceded in his account by the ravaging of Phaseliot territory and the capture of Phaselis (*Cim.* 12.3-4); but in between these two actions Kimon had moved to Knidos and Triopion on the Carian Chersonesos (*Cim.* 12.2). Meiggs notes that a general following up a campaign in Lycia with a battle at the Eurymedon would not have set out from this location; he suggestion a significant interval, presumably of some years, between the two campaigns.[52]

If Meiggs is right, it is unclear what Kimon's fleet was doing at Knidos in the first place. Knidos might have been an assembly point for a gathering Athenian and allied fleet,[53] but in both Plutarch and Diodorus it is implied that the battle of the Eurymedon closely followed Kimon's campaign in south-west Asia Minor, and Plutarch further implies that Kimon was already at Knidos when he learnt of the Persian fleet assembling at Aspendos; these implications are best served by assuming that Knidos was a stopping point on Kimon's route back to the Aegean after the occupation of Caria and Lycia.

The answer to why Kimon was moving back towards the Aegean without having taken Phaselis is probably to be found in the contemporaneous revolt of Athens' ally Naxos. Nor does this contemporaneity seem entirely coincidental; the Persians had probably fostered revolt in Naxos to distract attention from their attempt to recover Lycia and Caria.[54]

The following reconstruction can be put forward: Kimon was campaigning in eastern Lycia, intending to seize Phaselis, when word reached him of the revolt of Naxos. He therefore abandoned his campaign, and withdrew his fleet to deal with the Naxians. He had got as far as Knidos when word reached him of a Persian fleet assembling at Cyprus (Ephor. F 191.65; Diod. 11.60.6); he seems then to have waited at Knidos until word

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[51] Wherever the border between Lycia and Pamphylia may have lain; see Stark 1958b: 116-17.

[52] Meiggs 1972: 74. Meiggs himself notes that this is inconsistent with Diodorus' account.

[53] So Meiggs 1972: 76; Hammond 1986: 259.

[54] The relationship between Naxos and the Eurymedon is further discussed in Keen 1991c.

reached him that the fleet had moved to Aspendos (Plut. *Cim.* 12.2), clearly signifying that it intended to attack Lycia. At this point Kimon took his fleet back east, attacked and took Phaselis (Plut. *Cim.* 12.3-4), which he now needed as a base for conducting operations in the Gulf of Pamphylia,[55] and then attacked and defeated the Persian forces at the Eurymedon.[56] Any parts of Lycia and Caria not already brought over to the Athenian side no doubt revolted from Persia after the battle,[57] though this cannot have amounted to very much.

Lycian support was probably recruited for Kimon's further campaigns once the area had submitted. Diodorus uses προσλαμβάνω for Kimon's bringing over the Lycians. *Proslambano* in Diodorus generally refers to the acquisition of active help, usually, though not always, of a military nature; sometimes, however, it can be used simply as a synonym for *prosago* (προσάγω).[58] Diodorus reports (11.60.5) that many of the new allies gave ships to Kimon's force as they were admitted to the League, and these may have included Lycian ships (if there were any left after the losses of 480). An idea of the number of ships raised from Caria and Lycia can be gained from a close study of the following year's campaign. According to Plutarch (*Cim.* 12.2), Kimon set forth for the Eurymedon with two hundred ships;[59] the hundred ships that the allies had supplied him with before (Diod. 11.60.3) must have been left at Knidos. By the time he arrived in Pamphylia, however, he had two hundred and fifty ships in his fleet (Ephor. F 191.66-67; Diod. 11.60.6); these additional fifty ships must have been recruited from Caria and Lycia, and so this is probably close to the amount he had raised in the previous campaign, though some of the fifty might include ships from Phaselis, from which state assistance was certainly recruited (Plut. *Cim.* 12.4).

The 'Decadrachm' hoard

The next piece of evidence for Athens' activities in Lycia is the so-called 'Decadrachm' hoard, which was apparently found to the north-east of the modern town of Elmalı, in ancient Milyas, in an earthenware pot packed

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[55] Beloch 1916: 160-61; 1927: 68.

[56] Thuc. 1.100.1; Pl. *Menex.* 241d; Ephor. F 191.62-112; Lycurg. 72; Diod. 11.60.5-62; Nep. *Cimon* 2.2-3; Plut. *Cim.* 12.2-13.3; Paus. 1.29.4; Polyaen. 1.34.1; Just. 2.15.20; Euseb. *Chron.* Ol. 79.4; Aristodem. F 11.2; *Suda* κ 1620 *s.v.* Κίμων Μιλτιάδου.

[57] Beloch 1927: 68.

[58] McDougall 1983: π 68.

[59] The better texts in fact give a figure of three hundred (Blamire 1989: 139) but this figure is more than the final total recorded in Kimon's fleet at the Eurymedon (Ephor. F 191.66-67; Diod. 11.60.6), and so should be rejected.

with coins.[60] Near to the find-spot, at Kızıbel and Karaburun, are two built tombs.[61] Both are decorated on the interior with murals. The first, which dates to *c.* 525, uses iconography of a principally Anatolian-Oriental nature;[62] it is probably the tomb of a local dynast who had absorbed Greek cultural influences, probably via his neighbours in Lycia. The second tomb, however, at Karaburun ('Karaburun II'), dating to the early fifth century, carries murals displaying the tomb owner in Iranian dress, and makes much use of Iranian iconography—it is far more heavily Iranized than any contemporary object in Lycia proper. The owner may be a local dynast who had adopted Iranian culture,[63] but it is also possible that he was a Persian by race, and that here is evidence for Persian settlement in Milyas.[64]

Mellink has recently suggested that the depiction on one of the murals of the painted tomb at Karaburun, of a victory over enemy soldiers clad in Greek armour, may be connected with the advance of Kimon, representing a victory of the tomb-owner over Athenian forces.[65] It seems unlikely, however, that Kimon campaigned this far inland, and if the tomb itself dates to *c.* 470 and the owner was in his mid-fifties at the time of his death,[66] it is more likely that this events belong earlier in his career. It may be that he took part in the wars of the Persians with the Greeks;[67] alternatively, since the Lycians perhaps armed themselves in the Greek fashion (p. 229), this may have been a victory over local Lycian forces.

The Decadrachm Hoard contained nearly 1,900 coins[68] of which almost 1,000 were Lycian. This is an extremely important hoard for numismatists, as it has doubled the number of known Athenian decadrachms (hence the name) and has significantly increased the number of known Lycian coins. The hoard as it can best be reconstructed contained the following: 187 coins from Athens; 148 from the northern Aegean, either from Greek cities or from Thrace and Macedon; 55 from other Greek states in the

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[60] Hoard: Fried 1987; Kagan 1987; Spier 1987; Price 1987. Discovery and subsequent history: Acar, Kayal 1988. The find-spot was unknown at the time of the symposium subsequently published in Carradice 1987. Barron 1989: 9 describes it as "beyond the mountainous backdrop of Phaselis". Mr Spier informs me that the find-spot is still not certain.

[61] Mellink 1970: 251-53; 1971: 246-49, 250-55; 1972b: 261, 263-68; 1973: 297-303; 1974; 1975; 1976a.

[62] Mellink 1976b: 27-34; 1980: 16.

[63] Dandamaev 1989: 166.

[64] Cook 1983: 165, 180.

[65] Mellink 1988c: 272-73.

[66] Mellink 1988c: 272-73.

[67] Mellink earlier (1972: 268) suggested that he might have participated in the crushing of the Ionian revolt.

[68] The Turkish antiquities dealer who first purchased the hoard is said to have bought 1,889 coins, and at least one coin was removed from the hoard before that; Acar, Kayal 1988: 75-76.

Aegean; nearly 400 coins of Asia Minor; and nearly 1,000 from Lycia.[69] Of the Lycian coins, over 100 are of Kuprlli. Other contemporary dynasts are represented:[70] there are sixteen coins of Ẽkuwemi, twelve of Uele; and two of Thibãnuw.[71] There are also city mints represented: nine coins from Zagaba;[72] one from Aperlai;[73] and *circa* one hundred and twenty from Limyra.[74] Among the most important coins are a series of die-linked examples, totalling over 450, of which nearly three hundred are inscribed with the name Jañ.[75]

The location of Zagaba, like that of Tymnessos (p. 120-21), is unknown. Carruba suggests[76] that it was the same as the Roman site of Lagbe or Lagina,[77] but this seems unlikely, as Lagbe lies in Milyas rather than Lycia. Zagaba's connection with Tymnessos and Patara on the Inscribed Pillar (*TAM* i 44.*a*.42-43) might suggest a site in western Lycia, yet the coins (M 109, 134-37) are minted on the eastern coinage standard.[78] Stoltenberg places Zagaba in the eastern Xanthos valley.[79]

The hoard contained no bullion and the vast majority of the coinage (even that apparently of an earlier date) was in near-mint condition, hardly circulated; this indicates a lack of use. The mutilated coinage present amounts to six coins with chisel cuts and a fragment of a pre-480 Athenian tetradrachm, whilst the thirty-seven Samian coins, though apparently contemporary with most of the issues, appear slightly more worn.[80] It appears that the hoard was neither an accidental loss nor a 'savings' hoard, and best fits the type described as an 'emergency' hoard, i.e. one collected hurriedly and buried rapidly for some purpose, rather than having been assembled over a long period.[81]

The coinage perhaps came directly out of a state treasury or treasuries,

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[69] Figures from Fried 1987: 9.

[70] Figures from Spier 1987: 33.

[71] This is the form of his name given by Melchert 1993a: 110; Mørkholm, Zahle 1972: 75 give his name as Thibã, and Spier 1987: 33 gives it as Thibo. However, Arkwright suggested that this is the Lycian name of Simena.

[72] Spier 1987: 33.

[73] Spier 1987: 36.

[74] Spier 1987: 34. The coins are inscribed with the legend either *zẽt*, or *zẽ* plus a symbol (M, p. 10); Neumann suggests that this is an abbreviation for *Zẽmure* (= Limyra), and Spier 1987: 36 argues that this is more likely in the light of the Decadrachm Hoard.

[75] Spier 1987: 34-35. Mørkholm and Neumann (M, p. 11) read this name as Ñaj, but Melchert 1994: 41 (with refs.) argues that this is impossible, since the nasals (*m̃*, *ñ*) occur only at the end of syllables.

[76] Carruba 1993: 13.

[77] Lagina is noted on *TAVO* 15.2 as a 'conjectured name'.

[78] Olçay, Mørkholm 1971: 2-4 nos. 11-27.

[79] Stoltenberg 1955: 37.

[80] Mutilated coins: Fried 1987: 8; wear on Samian issues: Kagan 1987: 21 (Mr Spier has suggested to me that the condition of these coins is due to their being overstrikes).

[81] For a discussion of various types of hoards: Grierson 1975: 130-36.

rather than general circulation, as seems indicated by the large number of dies used.[82] The most likely purpose seems to be military;[83] some scholars have therefore been tempted to associate it with the Eurymedon campaign. Jonathon Kagan very tentatively makes this suggestion, though pointing out that it does depend on accepting both Lycia and Caria's entry into the League before the Eurymedon and a late date for the battle itself, and adding that "this should not be argued too strenuously".[84]

It is difficult to associate the burial with Kimon's campaigns, since it has already been argued that these was entirely sea-based and concerned with securing the coast; Elmalı seems too far inland to have warranted his attention. Moreover, such an association is difficult on chronological grounds. Kagan has thoroughly analysed the chronology and put forward *c.* 465-462 as a date for the latest of the non-Lycian coins, with the last Lycian coins perhaps a year or two later, *c.* 463-460.[85] This places the hoard outside the possible range of dates for Eurymedon, 470-465. It might be possible to stretch a connection between the hoard and the battle if a late date for the battle and an early date for the hoard are taken; but a late date for the battle seems less likely than an early one.

It has been suggested that the hoard was payment for services rendered at Eurymedon; Vermeule suggests that it belonged to a local sea captain who had fought at Eurymedon[86] (at the time of making this suggestion he was unaware of the hoard's find-spot). Vermeule's view circumvents the chronological problem, but still leaves the geographic; given that most of the assistance Kimon recruited from the Lycians seems to have been in the form of ships, it is unclear why he was dealing with settlements in the Elmalı region, without ships and in any case outside the boundaries of Kimon's Lycian allies. It is not impossible that the Athenian coinage originally entered Lycia in payment for services rendered at Eurymedon, but another context for the hoard's actual burial at this site must be sought.

The proportion of Lycian coins in the hoard argues against it being buried by an Athenian; it seems more likely that the coinage came from a Lycian treasury. The state to which the treasury belonged was very probably in alliance with Athens, and the non-Lycian coins (with the possible exception of the Carian issues) seem likely to have been supplied by Athens. Another interpretation might be that the Greek coinage was taken in

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[82] Kagan 1987: 21.

[83] Prof. Bryce has informed me in a letter "I think it's quite likely that many [Lycian] issues were minted for such [military] purposes. Unfortunately we have no hard evidence!"

[84] Kagan 1987: 24; Mr Spier indicates that he and Kagan do not think the connection necessary. Barron 1989: 15, states the association to be "beyond doubt", but he is using a very late date for the Eurymedon.

[85] Kagan 1987: 24.

[86] C. Vermeule *ap.* Acar, Kayal 1988: 78.

raids on Athenian or allied forces, but if the coinage was spoils of war more wear and signs of circulation should be expected unless it was captured in one single instance, which is possible but unlikely.

The large number of coins of Jañ, coupled with further die-linked coins, suggests that the hoard came out of his treasury, whilst the large number of coins from Limyra points to an eastern Lycian origin for that treasury. The only dynast whose name appears on any Limyra coinage, however, is Kuprlli.[87] If Limyra played the same role in eastern Lycia in the fifth century as in the fourth (pp. 154-170), this coinage represents a deliberate attempt by Kuprlli to assert his authority over eastern Lycia, probably only recently brought under the rule of Xanthos. There are also some coins die-linked to Lycian coins, yet carrying a Greek legend, Ῥοδιον.[88] Spier suggests that these were minted either by or for Rhodians active in Lycia, possibly as payment for mercenaries. It may be that they were struck in connection with the east-Lycian Rhodian colonies, which, as suggested above (p. 90), had been brought into Lycia in the late sixth or early fifth century.

The presence of over a hundred coins of Kuprlli suggests that Jañ had some connection with the Xanthian dynasty, and it also seems likely that Athenian coinage would enter via Xanthos. Jañ was probably a member of the Lycian 'nobility', perhaps with more influence in eastern Lycia.[89] It is unclear why Athens was supplying money to Xanthos; possibly this was in repayment for services rendered during Kimon's campaign, or to encourage further expansion of Xanthos at the expense of Persia.

After Eurymedon, when Lycia had gone over to Athens, the Elmalı plain would have formed part of the frontier between the Athenian and Achaemenid spheres of influence. If it is correct to interpret the tombs at Kızıbel and Karaburun as indicating an independent Milyan dynasty of strong pro-Achaemenid leanings near Elmalı, this was probably an area into which the Xanthian dynasty would not have been able to expand before *c.* 470 for fear of incurring the wrath of their Persian overlords. Now, however, this area was open to them, and border incidents may have been common (if indeed they were not before). The burial of the hoard then is most likely connected with some incident in the 460s, probably involving an attempt to expand the territory of the Xanthian state into the Elmalı plain; the subsequent appearance in the area of Lycian tombs and inscriptions[90] might point it being brought into Lycia at some point.

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87 Spier 1987, 36.

88 Spier 1987: 36.

89 Prof. Melchert suggests (pers. comm.) that his name is unlikely to be of Lycian origin, though whether this means Jañ himself was a non-Lycian is more doubtful.

90 Mellink 1976: 23.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE REIGN OF KUPRLLI

Kuprlli and the dynasts of the early and mid-fifth century

The period *c.* 480-440 was the time of Kuprlli's rule in Xanthos, or at least when he was minting coinage.[1] The chronological limits of his minting are deduced from the presence of coins of Kuprlli in various hoards containing datable coinage from outside Lycia. The earliest hoard containing his coinage is the Asyut hoard; this seems to have been buried *c.* 470.[2] The coins of Kuprlli included in this hoard had seen some wear and had probably been issued about ten years before the hoard's closing.[3] In any case, if Kuprlli is not to be identified with the Kybernis of Herodotus (pp. 88-90), a date after *c.* 480 for the commencement of his minting is probable.[4] The latest hoards in which Kuprlli's coins are found (excluding one from the beginning of the fourth century,[5] where the coin is clearly not contemporary) are a hoard from Asia Minor containing mainly coins of Sinope, which dates to *c.* 425,[6] and one from Naukratis, which was buried in the 430s.[7] In both these hoards the coins of Kuprlli are quite heavily worn, indicating that they were minted probably some time in the 440s.[8]

It has sometimes been suggested that the coinage of Kuprlli should be divided into two separate series, each series representing the coinage of a separate dynast.[9] The division between the two rulers is placed at *c.* 450,[10] and the coins are divided into the separate series on the basis of weight standards, with the heavier coins belonging to the earlier period, the

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[1] Mørkholm, Zahle 1972: 75-76.

[2] Kraay 1977: esp. 194; Cahn 1977. The hoard is dated earlier, to *c.* 480-475, by Price, Waggonner 1975: 22, who on this basis date Kuprlli's earliest issues to *c.* 485 (Price, Waggonner 1975: 102).

[3] Mørkholm, Zahle 1972: 76.

[4] Mørkholm 1964: 69, dates his earliest issues to *c.* 460.

[5] Robinson 1950: 45 no. 9.

[6] Mørkholm, Zahle 1972: 75.

[7] Kuprlli coin in the hoard: Mørkholm, Zahle 1972: 62 no. 47. Date: Mattingly 1970: 142-45.

[8] Mørkholm, Zahle 1972: 75.

[9] E.g. Hill 1895: 20; 1897: xxxii; Head 1911: 699. The possibility is considered and rejected by Babelon 1910: 253-54. It has recently been revived by Bryce 1995: 1164.

[10] Hill 1897: 12-13; Head 1911: 699. Bryce 1995: 1164 puts the division at *c.* 465.

lighter to the later. Mørkholm, however, has shown that this division in the coins of Kuprlli is geographical, not chronological.[11] No other grounds, either stylistic or chronological, exist to justify the division of these coins between separate dynasts, and it is probably best to accept that there was only one Kuprlli ruling in the mid-fifth century.[12]

Shahbazi argues that Kuprlli did not take power in Xanthos immediately upon the death of Kybernis. He suggests that the dynast Sppñtaza, known from coins and inscriptions (*TAM* i 3.2; M 128a & b, 214) ruled in Xanthos from the death of Kybernis to the coming of the Athenians, being removed by them and replaced by Kuprlli.[13] However, twenty-five near-mint specimens of Sppñtaza's coinage were found in a hoard buried *c.* 440-430 (that found at Kaş), suggesting that he was minting at about that period; Shahbazi's suggestion therefore seems unlikely, and it should be accepted that Kuprlli ruled at Xanthos from *c.* 480, and that the Athenian arrival in Lycia did not precipitate a change of ruler.[14]

Kuprlli's area of rule is shown by the numismatic evidence to have ranged over most of Lycia. Coin inscriptions attest that he minted at Xanthos (M 205) and Limyra (M 125).[15] It his clear that his main base of power was in the west of Lycia, since his coins minted on the light standard outnumber those minted on the heavy by a factor of three to one.[16] Nonetheless, his reign seems to have brought a greater unity to Lycia than had previously been known (p. 122).

Numismatic evidence provides a number of links between Kuprlli and other coin-issuers, both through the inclusion of his coins and those of others in the same hoards, and through die-links. One hoard discovered in 1961 at Kaş and dated to *c.* 440-430 by the inclusion of some Athenian coins to be dated after 449,[17] included a coin of Kuprlli with coins of Thibãnuw, Sppñtaza, Jañ, Ite and the elder Wekhssere;[18] another Lycian hoard dating from about the same time adds Teththiweibi and Tñnẽmi,[19] whilst another affirms the link with Wekhssere;[20] and the Decadrachm Hoard adds four further links, Ẽkuwemi, Uele, Esehi and the otherwise un-

[11] Mørkholm 1964: 70-71.
[12] Mørkholm, Zahle 1972: 108, 111.
[13] Shahbazi 1975: 66.
[14] Bryce 1986: 104.
[15] Bryce 1976b: 172, suggests that the coins issued by Kuprlli with a dolphin obverse (Mørkholm, Zahle 1972: 60 nos. 5-6, 93) were issued at Phellos or possibly Aperlai.
[16] Mørkholm, Zahle 1972: 73.
[17] Mørkholm 1964: 69 & n. 11; Mørkholm, Zahle 1972: 75; Thompson, Mørkholm, Kraay 1973, no. 1251.
[18] Mørkholm 1964: 69 & n. 11; Mørkholm, Zahle 1972: 75; *IGCH* 1251.
[19] Mørkholm, Zahle 1972: 75; *Coin Hoards* 2 (1976) no. 27.
[20] Zahle 1989: 173.

known Esbehi.[21] There is a die-link attested with Ẽkuwemi,[22] and one with Kheriga.[23] He also shares a distinctive obverse type, a round shield with a lion crouching left, with Teththiweibi.[24]

Leaving aside Kheriga, who was a member of the dynastic house at Xanthos, these figures can be identified as the leading individuals amongst the 'nobility' of Kuprlli's reign. It seems that in the reign of Kuprlli the right to issue coinage, perhaps previously restricted to the rulers of Xanthos, became more generally available. Since it was now necessary to distinguish one dynast's coinage from another's, the early series of uninscribed issues was phased out.[25]

Little can be said of these men. The coinage allows a rough chronological sequence to be established for them. Esbehi, Esehi (M 22) and Uele (M 23) minted on the early middle coinage standard used before the two standards for east and west Lycia had been properly delineated; their careers must therefore belong to the early part of Kuprlli's reign. Ite (M 117), Jañ (M 103), Mutlẽi (M 210),[26] Sppñtaza (M 128, 214), Tẽnegure (M 217), Teththiweibi (M 127, 213), Tñnẽmi (M 209) and Wekhssere, on the other hand, minted only on one or both of the later distinct standards, so their careers must belong to the end of the reign.[27] Only Ẽkuwemi is known to have minted both in the early stages of the reign (M 24) and later (M 123, 202).

Sppñtaza, perhaps one of the latest of these dynasts, since he does not mint any coins of the early boar/triskeles type,[28] is the only one attested on a stone inscription (*TAM* i 3.2, assuming that the men attested epigraphically and numismatically are one and the same);[29] the tomb-owner, Tewinezi, describes himself as *[S]ppñtazah: Asawzalah tideimi*. This almost certainly means 'son of Sppñtaza Asawzala'.[30] The inscription comes from a tomb at Telemessos. Since Sppñtaza's son chose to be buried in this city, he must have had some close connection with the site, and it

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21 Spier 1987: 33, 35, 36. The word *esbehi* appears on *TAM* i 128.1; Melchert 1993a: 20, interprets it as a genitive adjective from the word for 'horse'.

22 Mørkholm, Zahle 1972: 76.

23 Six 1887: 47; Jenkins 1959: 33 & n. 1; Mørkholm, Zahle 1972: 76; 1976: 59.

24 Mørkholm, Zahle 1972: 76.

25 Although uninscribed issues persisted perhaps to *c.* 450; Mørkholm 1964: 69.

26 Laroche 1979: 82 compares with Greek Μοταλις.

27 Teththiweibi appears on the Inscribed Pillar (*TAM* i 44.*b*.60-61), which might suggest that he survived into the reign of Kheriga. Bryce 1976b: 173-74, suggests that Tẽnegure and Teththiweibi shared combinations of types with later dynasts of Xanthos (Kheriga and Kherẽi respectively).

28 Bryce 1976b: 191-92.

29 Doubted by Hill 1897: xxxiv.

30 Bryce 1986: 73; for *tideimi* = 'son': Laroche 1979: 110; Melchert 1993a: 74. Asawzala is presumably an epithet of some kind; compare Pajawa Machine in *TAM* i 40.*a*, *b*.1.

might seem likely that his family originated from there.[31] It is suggested below (p. 121) however, that Telemessos was not brought into the Lycian state until the mid-to-late fifth century, in which case any estates possessed by Sppñtaza's family in the area must have been granted them after Telemessos' annexation, and only later, perhaps after Sppñtaza's lifetime, did they become the family domicile. His heavy coinage is perhaps to be attributed to Phellos, on the grounds of the types used.[32]

Ẽkuwemi's name appears scratched on a fragment of pottery recovered from Xanthos (N 313*d*).[33] Unfortunately this pottery cannot be dated, nor is its purpose clear, but it might indicate that Ẽkuwemi's family had connections with Xanthos. Laroche connects the name *Ẽkuwemi* with the name *Ikkwemi* recorded on an inscription of Kadyanda (*TAM* i 32.*i*.1) and equated to Greek 'Ενδυομις.[34] Since the inscription also names Hekatomnos (*e*.1-*f*.2), possibly the fourth-century Carian dynast of that name, it is unlikely to be contemporary with the coin-issuing Ẽkuwemi, but again it might indicate the presence of family estates.

As has already been argued (pp. 50-52), the Lycian 'nobility' did not have their power-bases tied down to specific locations. This is demonstrated for this period by the numbers of dynasts who minted on both the light west-Lycian and the heavy east-Lycian standards. Apart from Kuprlli himself and Kheriga, who would naturally be expected to hold authority through all of Lycia, Ẽkuwemi, Sppñtaza, Teththiweibi and Wekhssere all minted on both standards. Other dynasts appear to have minted only on one standard. As far as it is possible to tell, Tẽnegure, Tñnẽmi and Mutlẽi[35] minted only on the light standard, whilst Jañ and Ite are known only from heavy coins.[36]

Kuprlli's rule seems to have been a time of considerable reform of the coinage of Lycia. It seems very probable that it was under his rule that members of the Lycian 'nobility' outside the ruling house of Xanthos first acquired the right to mint, hence the appearance of inscribed coinage, in order that the issues of one dynast might be distinguished from another. Kuprlli also minted some coins on the Persian weight standard,[37] though for what purpose is unclear. It was also in the reign of Kuprlli that the two distinct coinage standards in western (*c.* 8.4 grams) and eastern Lycia (*c.*

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[31] Six 1887; Babelon 1893: xcviii; Hill 1997: xxxiv, all associate Sppñtaza with Telemessos.
[32] M, p. 14.
[33] Metzger 1972: 165 no. 379.
[34] Laroche 1967: 46-48; not included in Neumann 1996.
[35] Childs 1981: 58 n. 21 states that Mutlẽi minted on both standards, but his name is only found on light coins (M 210).
[36] M 103 (Jañ), 117 (Ite). For the conclusions to be drawn from this, see p. 51.
[37] Mørkholm, Zahle 1972: 60 nos. 1-4; M 301.

9.7-9.9 grams) emerged, somewhere in the second quarter of the fifth century.[38]

Partially, this must have been an economic move, to eliminate the wide variety of weight standards that had started to be used in the early fifth century (and seem to have persisted perhaps as far down as the end of the century).[39] There is, however, clearly a political significance to the division, as the boundary between the areas of circulation of the light and heavy standards is almost exactly that between the Lycian state based on the Xanthos valley and eastern Lycia beyond in the sixth century (p. 18), but the exact significance remains unclear.

It is, however, certain that the division should not be interpreted as indicating that western Lycia was within the Athenian empire whilst eastern Lycia remained in the Persian empire.[40] Such an idea runs contrary to all the evidence concerning those dynasts who minted in both areas, and the Athenians' strategic interests in the area necessitated the control of all of the peninsula (pp. 101-03). Additionally, the Lycian equivalent of the Greek stater appears to have been called the shekel (*siχla-*),[41] and though its weight standard was close to the Attic, it was also equivalent to the Persian weight-shekel (as opposed to the lighter coin-shekel).[42] So it is clear that the west-Lycian coin standard was not necessarily influenced by that of Athens.

Kuprlli was perhaps son, or possibly more likely since he probably bore the same name, grandson or nephew of Kybernis.[43] Given the length of his reign, he was perhaps quite young when he became ruler of Xanthos, though not very young, as he seems to have outlived at least two members of the succeeding generation.

First, he clearly seems to have outlived his own son. On the Inscribed Pillar, the owner, Kheriga, is described as [*χahba : Ku*]*prlleh : Xezigah : tuhes :* (*TAM* i 44.*a*.30-31): 'grandson of Kuprlli, nephew of Kheziga'.[44] Since Kheziga was a family name in the dynastic family at Xanthos, this Kheziga can only have been Kuprlli's son. He is probably named in the genealogy on the Pillar because he was a predecessor of Kheriga as heir-apparent to Kuprlli.[45] He was possibly the same Kheziga named in an inscription from Isinda (*TAM* i 65.13, 15, 17, 20), though this would be im-

[38] Zahle 1989: 171. Spier 1987: 31 sees the absence of light coins from the Decadrachm Hoard as chronologically significant, but as Zahle 1989: 171 n. 5 points out, western coins are absent because it was buried in eastern Lycia, well beyond their circulation area.

[39] Zahle 1989: 180.

[40] Buschmann 1988: 5.

[41] See Howink ten Cate 1961: 93; Bryce 1975: 39; Melchert 1993a: 63.

[42] Zahle 1988: 177.

[43] Bryce 1982b: 331.

[44] Bryce 1982b: 331. For *tuhes* = 'nephew': Bryce 1986: 139-42; Melchert 1993a: 80.

[45] But cf. Pembroke 1965: 243.

possible if the Pttule named in the same inscription is Ptolemy I (pp. 48-49). He is, however, not known from coinage, and did not succeed his father at Xanthos. He must then have predeceased Kuprlli.

The other figure is Arppakhu, who was the father of the coin-issuer Kheriga and almost certainly Kuprlli's son-in-law. Apart from his appearance on the Inscribed Pillar (*TAM* i 44.*a*.1-2 & 30, *c*.24 [= *SEG* 42 1245.5]), Arppakhu also appears on two other inscriptions, one from Çindam near Phellos (*TAM* i 77.2*b*) and one from Phellos itself (N 310.4). Bryce argues that, as no other datable Lycian inscriptions are known from as early as Arppakhu's lifetime (i.e. the mid-fifth century), the inscriptions belong to the late fifth century.[46] Yet both these inscriptions link Arppakhu's name with the quasi-dating formula *ẽnẽ ... χñtawata* (pp. 46, 49). At least in the case of the Çindam inscription, the dating formula is most easily read as indicating that the tomb was erected in Arppakhu's reign, so it seems quite possible that both these inscriptions were contemporary with Arppakhu.

It seems then very likely that Arppakhu was considered king by the people who erected the two inscriptions that mention him, yet he issued no coinage (so far as is known) in his own name; coinage continued to be issued under the name of Kuprlli. Arppakhu was, however, the son-in-law of one coin-issuer, Kuprlli, and the father of another, Kheriga,[47] already noted as a 'king', so Arppakhu was clearly related to a 'royal' family. His name, a version of the Persian Harpagos, possibly indicates marriage ties to important families in the Achaemenid nobility. Perhaps, as Arppakhu was acting as regent for his father-in-law Kuprlli, who was presumably somehow incapacitated (perhaps by old age). Officially Kuprlli was still king of Lycia, and coinage was issued in his name, but the men setting up the inscriptions in the Phellos region (*TAM* i 77 and N 310) knew where the power really lay. One might in this connection note that Arppakhu's son, Kheriga, minted at Phellos (M 130), so it may have been an area in which the family were particularly influential; indeed, so much of Kheriga's coinage came from there that Mørkholm and Zahle believed that Phellos was the seat of Kheriga's power.[48]

It seems, however, that Kuprlli still managed to outlive Arppakhu,[49] since it was the latter's son Kheriga who eventually succeeded. Probably Kheriga took over his father's role as regent. He had certainly started issuing coinage under his own name before Kuprlli died, as is clear from die-

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46 Bryce 1986: 46.

47 Kuprlli coinage: M 124-26, 204-05. Arppakhu's genealogy is reconstructed from *TAM* i 44.*a*.1-2, 30; see p. 130 below.

48 Mørkholm, Zahle 1976: 59.

49 Zahle 1983: 110, suggests that Arppakhu was buried in Phellos, but there is no real evidence for such a proposition.

linked coins of Kuprlli and Kheriga, where a minor flaw is on the die as used by Kuprlli, but not on the Kheriga examples.[50] Kuprlli himself was probably buried in the 'Theatre Pillar' at Xanthos.[51]

Little else can be said about the internal policy of Kuprlli, though it seems very likely that he was responsible for the rebuilding of sections of the Lycian acropolis in the mid-fifth century.[52] His external policy was dominated by relations with Athens, of which a little has been said already; it is now time to turn to Lycia's continued dealings with the Athenian empire.

Lycia as a part of the Athenian empire

Probably some time in 462/1, the Peace of Kallias was made between Athens and Persia.[53] In this Peace, if the ancient evidence is to be believed, Lycia's position outside the reach of the Achaemenid empire was officially acknowledged; the southern limit beyond which Persian fleets were forbidden to pass was established at Lycia's eastern promontory. The sources disagree as to exactly where the boundary was, whether it was at Phaselis or at the Chelidonian Isles;[54] possibly both locations were named (as *Suda* κ 1620 *s.v.* Κίμων Μιλτιάδου), and in practical terms it made little difference.

Some sources on the Peace also mention Kyaneai as a limit on Persia's sphere of influence.[55] Childs suggests a possible interpretation of this as a division between western Lycia, a member of the Delian League, and eastern Lycia, between Kyaneai and Phellos, allied to western Lycia and so within the Athenian sphere of influence, but not in the League itself.[56] Such an interpretation is unsound, however, since it seems almost certain that the Kyaneai mentioned is not the Lycian Kyaneai, but a location at the mouth of the Black Sea;[57] it makes far better sense of such remarks as that

[50] Mørkholm, Zahle 1976: 54.

[51] Keen 1992a: 60.

[52] Metzger 1963: 82.

[53] This is not the place for a full discussion of the Peace of Kallias; the view adopted in this work, that the Peace was genuine, and concluded in the 460s, is that of Walsh 1981 and Badian 1993: 1-72; for a differing view: Meister 1982, with bibliography of previous treatments at 124-30; cf. Holladay 1986; Powell 1988: 49-54; and refs. therein. If the Peace is a fourth-century fiction, this does not affect the issue significantly, since it is clear that Athens had *de facto* control of Lycia (Childs 1981: 60 n. 27).

[54] Phaselis: Isoc. 4.118; 7.80; 12.59; Lycurg. 73; Diod. 12.4.5; Aristodem. F 13.2; Chelidonian Islands: Dem. 19.273; Plut. *Cim.* 13.4; Aristid. *Or.* 13.153, 169; 14.200; Him. 6.29.

[55] Dem. 19.273; Lycurg. 73; Diod. 12.4.5; Plut. *Cim.* 13.4; Aristid. *Or.* 13.153, 169; 14.200, 202; Aristodem. F 13.2; Him. 6.9; *Suda* κ 1620 *s.v.* Κίμων Μιλτιάδου.

[56] Childs 1981: 60. Note Wade-Gery's view (1940: 135-36) of a "demilitarized zone".

[57] Oliver 1957: 254-55; Meiggs 1972: 147; Childs 1981: 60 n. 27 views this as "very likely".

of Diodorus (12.4.5) that the Persians might not sail their ships 'within Phaselis and Kyaneai' to assume that the Athenians were precluding Persian access to the entire Aegean, rather than just a small strip along the Lycian coast.

Little can be said concerning the first fifteen years or so of Lycia's membership of the League, as evidence is lacking until the Athenian Tribute Lists begin in 454/3. The Lycians appear three times on the tribute lists, each time in the Carian district,[58] but two, for 452/1 and 451/0, are heavily restored (*IG* i^3 261.i.30; 262.v.33);[59] the only unrestored appearance is for the year 446/5 (*IG* i^3 266.iii.34), where the Lycians are recorded as *Lykioi kai synteleis*. The implications of this description have been discussed above (pp. 41-42).

The tribute lists can give some idea of the extent of the Xanthian state in the mid-fifth century. No cities in the Xanthos valley are mentioned on the lists; nor are any cities from central and eastern Lycia. Given the nature of the Athenian occupation of Lycia described, it seems unlikely that all these cities were not members of the League, and whilst a few may have escaped attention in the sections of the lists that are not preserved, most must have been subsumed under the *synteleis*.

In western Lycia beyond the Xanthos valley, however, the picture is rather different. Four states in this area are named: Kalynda,[60] Krya, Telandros and Telemessos.[61] In the east, on the other hand, only Phaselis is recorded as paying independently (p. 234).

One other document sheds light, the tribute reassessment decree of 425/4 (*IG* i^3 71). This probably listed all states that had ever paid tribute, and amongst those states included are three not otherwise attested on the lists: Tymnessos (i.141),[62] Milyas (ii.137) and Hiera by Sidyma (ii.153-54).

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[58] *ATL* I, 496.

[59] [Τελμέσσιοι καὶ Λ]ύκιοι (*IG* i^3 261.i.29-30); [Τελμέσ]σιοι [καὶ Λύκιοι] (262.v.32-33); for the restorations: *ATL* III, 7.

[60] In the form Κλαυνδε̂ς, e.g. *IG* i^3 268.v.8 [444/3; heavy restoration]; 269.iv.8 [443/2]; 270.ii.70 [442/1]; 272.ii.85 [440/39; entirely restored]. *ATL* I, 504 makes the identification, and it is certainly the case that these cannot be the same as the Καλύδνιοι, since both names appear in *IG* i^3 269. Later (third century) the ethnic was Καλύνδιος (*SEG* 28 725 = Dunant 1978: no. 175).

[61] Krya (Κρυε̂ς ἀπὸ Καρίας): *IG* i^3 260.vii.10 [453/2]; 261.v.16 [452/1]; 262.ii.5 [451/0]; 263.i.6; 264.ii.8; 265.i.50; 266.iii.23; 268.iv.33; 269.iv.5; 270.iv.6; 271.ii.65; 272.i.73; 279.i.14 [entirely restored]; 282.iv.33 [entirely restored]; 283.ii.28; Telandros: 260.i.11; 262.v.31; 264.ii.5; 265.i.46; 268.v.13; 269.iv.13; 270.iv.13 [entirely restored]; 271.ii.64; 272.i.71; 279.i.10; Telemessos: 261.i.29 [entirely restored]; 262.v.32; 266.iii.33.

[62] *ATL* I, 206 reads Τυμν[ ] at *IG* i^3 71.i.141 as Τυμν[εσσε̂ς]; but the reading was rejected in favour of reading a personal name by Bean, Cook 1957: 145-46 (on the grounds that Tymn... is jointly assessed with Kyllandios), and is not adopted by Lewis in *IG* i^3.

The authors of *ATL* believe the Τελάνδριοι to be the inhabitants of the island of Telandria (Plin. *HN* 5.35.131),[63] which they identify with modern Tersane in the Gulf of Telemessos,[64] where there is a ruined watch-tower of uncertain date.[65] A place Telandros, which *ATL* treats as the same site as Telandria, is named by Alexander Polyhistor (F 54 *ap.* Steph. Byz. 620.10-12 *s.v.* Τήλανδρος)[66] as a Carian town and promontory, by Pliny (*HN* 5.28) as a Lycian town, and by Quintus Smyrnaeus (4.7-9) as a mountain. Arkwright identified it with modern Nif Köy;[67] this seems to fit the topographical data badly, and is treated with scepticism by e.g. Ruge and Robert,[68] but Arkwright may be correct. In any case, the city was clearly in the Lycio-Carian border area.

Tymnessos is described on the Inscribed Pillar (*TAM* i 44.*a*.42-43) as 'lower', but the precise significance of this term is unclear. Its precise location is unknown. Alexander Polyhistor mentions it in the first book of his *Lykiaka* (F 55 *ap.* Steph. Byz. 641.9-10 *s.v.* Τυμνησσός); this indicates that he clearly thought of it as Lycian, and might indicate that it was in that part of Lycia that a Greek traveller would visit first, i.e. the west. Stephanus (641.8 *s.v.* Τυμνησσός) describes Tymnessos as a Carian city,[69] yet it had a Lycian name. According to Stephanus, the name derived from τυμνίας, the Xanthian (i.e. Lycian) equivalent of the Greek ῥάβδος ('rod'). Alternatively, since the Lycian name, *Tuminehi,* incorporates the adjectival suffix *-ehi*,[70] the original derivation may have been "city of **Tumine*" (or possibly **Tumini* or **Tumina*);[71] it may be the equivalent of Greek Τύμνες, a name attested in southern Caria.[72] If it is on the assessment decree of 425/4, it was included in the Ἰονικὸς φόρος, the Ionian tribute district, but this is from a period when the Καρικὸς φόρος, the Carian district (in which Lycia was included) was incorporated within the Ionian.

All this evidence suggests that Tymnessos lay in the Lycio-Carian border area,[73] on the route that Melesandros (p. 129, 131-32) would almost certainly have taken from Caria to Lycia, a suggestion further supported by

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[63] Telandria once had a town, according to Pliny: *in qua oppidum interiit.*

[64] *ATL* I, 555, following Philippson 1910-13, against Heberdey in *TAM* i, who identifies it with Avthoki.

[65] Bean 1978: 36.

[66] This reference is attached to Telandria by *ATL* I, 555, almost certainly incorrectly.

[67] Arkwright 1895: 94.

[68] Ruge 1934a and Robert 1980: 377-80, accepting the *ATL* identification.

[69] πόλις Καρίας is corrected to πόλις Λυκίας by Stemplinger 1902: 35, but probably wrongly.

[70] Houwink ten Cate 1961: 59-61 par. 5.

[71] Meriggi 1980: 215-20.

[72] Hdt. 5.37.1; 7.98; *IG* i³ 71.i.113; 267.iii.25; 270.v.10; 271.i.84; 272.ii.79; *ATL* I, 205, 495; Bean, Cook 1955: 147-48; Hornblower 1982: 22, 24 n. 144.

[73] Imhoof-Blumer 1908: 99; *ATL* I, 556; Robert 1955: 188-196.

the possibility that it may have issued coinage under the Roman emperor Vespasian, at which point it must have been considered a Carian rather than Lycian city, since Lycian cities did not issue coinage under Rome until the reign of Gordian III (A.D. 238-244).[74] Zahle, however, places Tuminehi in central Lycia, at Köybaşi at south end of Xanthos valley, on the basis of some coins he wishes to assign there.[75] There are certainly coins minted on the heavy east-Lycian standard that carry the legend *Tuminehi*;[76] quite how this can be squared with the literary evidence is uncertain.

Hiera was probably situated at the west end of Mt. Antikragos, where there is a cape named as Ἱερὰ Ἄκρα in the *Stadiasmos* (249-50). The city itself is tentatively identified by the authors of *ATL*[77] with a nearby site, close to the modern town of Bel Köy.[78] Strabo (14.3.8 [666]) places Hiera Akra between the Chelidonian Isles and Limyra; there may of course have been two capes so-named.

Kalynda, Krya and Telandros were clearly independent members of the Delian League throughout the period of Athenian hegemony in the Aegean; these areas were probably considered part of Caria (Krya is certainly described as Carian on the tribute lists). They remained in the Athenian empire until the Peloponnesian War; Telandros is last recorded paying in 433/2 (*IG* i³ 279.i.10) and Krya in 428/7 (283.ii.28). Telandros may have been lost to Athens after the débâcle of Melesandros in 430/29, but it may have remained within the empire up to the widespread revolts in the Athenian empire in 414, following the Sicilian disaster (Thuc. 8.2), after which Athens seems to have lost hold of the fringes of south-western Asia Minor.

Telemessos is a special case. In its first two appearances (*IG* i³ 261.i.29; 262.v.32)[79] it is linked with Lycia, and the two states make a joint payment; in the third appearance (266.iii.33) Telemessos pays separately from Lycia, but is adjacent to it in the list. Aside from these entries, there is no other evidence for control of Telemessos by the Lycian state before some coins of Kherẽi minted there at the end of the fifth century.[80]

It must be reiterated that the Tribute Lists are heavily restored (p. 119 n. 59), so that any conclusions drawn from them are necessarily tentative.

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[74] Robert 1955: 189-93; also Hill 1897: lvi; Jones 1971: 77 n. 79. For the Lycian minting under Gordian see von Aulock 1974: 20-22.

[75] Zahle 1988.

[76] Zahle 1988: 100 fig. 2, 101 fig. 3; Vismara 1989: I, no. 131; Zahle in *GHHIL*, 176 no. 93.

[77] *ATL* I, 492, followed by *TAVO* 15.2.

[78] First noted by Ormerod, Robinson 1914: 4.

[79] *IG* i³ 269.i.62 has the reading Τε[. The editors of *IG* i² supplied alternative readings at this point of either Τε[λεμέσσιοι] or Τε[ρμερε̃ς]. Lewis in *IG* i³ is firmly convinced of the latter.

[80] Bryce 1986: 105; for the coins seem Mørkholm, Zahle 1976: 52 nos. 50-54.

If, however, the restorations of *ATL* are correct (and no scholar since has doubted them), this removes any question[81] that this is the Carian city near Halikarnassos, which is too far from Lycia to be linked with it in a joint payment. Bryce supposes that this joint payment was simply an administrative grouping on the part of the Athenians;[82] he further suggests that there were other towns within Lycia that were independent of it at this time. The latter may be true, though if so they are invisible to us; but they cannot be argued on the example of the appearance of Telemessos, since if states are recorded on the Tribute Lists as making a common payment, that surely indicates a political linkage.

The question then arises as to why Telemessos was named separately and not simply subsumed into the *synteleis*. The answer is probably that when Telemessos originally joined the League it was independent of Lycia, but sometime between *c.* 471 and 452/1 (the date of *IG* i³ 261) it had been annexed by the Xanthian state.[83] It is highly unlikely that Telemessos would be annexed before Hiera, which was much nearer the heartland of Xanthian power, yet Hiera is not associated with this joint payment. This is probably best explained by the suggestion that Hiera had been annexed some time previously, and Athens had ceased to send out a demand for Hiera's tribute to be paid separately from that of Lycia as a whole; Telemessos had probably only just been annexed, so demands for the Telemessian tribute were still being issued in 452/1 and 451/0. Xanthian control over Telemessos does not seem to have been long-lasting, for by 446/5 Telemessos was once again paying its tribute separately (*IG* i³ 266.iii.33).[84]

From these documents it can be hypothesized that in *c.* 471 the Xanthian state included most of the Xanthos valley and central and eastern Lycia, but did not penetrate into the Milyan uplands or the Lycio-Carian border area. Sometime during the next two decades, however, Xanthian power did extend into the latter area, absorbing Telemessos and other states (almost certainly Hiera), but Xanthian control at Telemessos was brief. Hiera is likely to have remained under Xanthian control (its listing separately in the assessment of 425 was purely the result of every former individual payer of tribute being included, and bore no relation to the current political situation). As for Milyas, Arrian (*Anab.* 1.24.5) states that at the time of Alexander's campaign it had been given to Lycia by decree of the Persian King. When this took place is unclear, but some time in the fifth century seems most likely.

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[81] Doubts are expressed by Jones 1971: 97; Bryce 1986: 106 n. 13.

[82] Bryce 1986: 105.

[83] It seems very unlikely that Telemessos' separate appearance indicates the presence of a Persian fiefdom (Childs 1981: 59 n. 19). It was considered King's Land in the Hellenistic period, but this probably dates back to confiscations of territory after the Satraps' Revolt.

[84] See Boeckh 1817: 488-89.

The amount of tribute paid by Lycia is recorded only once, for the year 446/5 (*IG* i³ 266.iii.34); it was ten talents. This presumably included the payment of Hiera, whatever that may have been (the exact amount of the assessment of 425/4 has not survived). It seems likely that this ten talents was the usual contribution for the 450s and 440s; most other states seem to have paid fairly constant amounts over this period (e.g. Kalynda paid one-and-a-half talents from 452/1 down to 433/2). Presumably when the Xanthian state was paying the Telemessian tribute, that was added to the ten talents; Telemessos' tribute seems to have been one talent (*IG* i³ 266.iii.33). Compared with Phaselis' contribution of three (or sometimes six) talents (p. 234), and also compared with Lycia's share of the four hundred talents paid in tribute by the coastal satrapy to Darius (Hdt. 3.90.1), this ten talents should not have been a major burden upon the Lycians.[85] Bryce suggests that the tribute was deliberately set at a low level to encourage Lycian adherence to the League,[86] and this is an attractive suggestion.

It has been suggested that the Lycians were irregular in their payments,[87] though actual evidence is lacking. For three years at the end of the decade, 442/1, 441/0 and 440/39, Lycia is definitely absent from the tribute lists (*IG* i³ 270-72),[88] as are Hiera, Telemessos and Tymnessos. It has been widely accepted on the basis of these inscriptions that Lycia left the League shortly before 442,[89] and there is no serious reason to dispute this. It has been argued that the break should be dated to *c.* 430, on the grounds that the appearance of Attic type Athena heads on the coinage of Kheriga at about that time dates the break, since pseudo-Attic coinage would have been economically useful to Kheriga once he could no longer gain access to the genuine article.[90] There is no reason, however, why leaving the League should instantly deprive the Lycians of their supplies of Attic coinage, which in any case may not have been needed until the Lycians went to war with Athens in 430/29. The account of the expedition of Melesandros (pp. 125-33) in any case implies that the Lycians had been out of the tribute system for some time by 430.

Why the Lycians left is unclear. Childs has suggested that they were affected by a general economic malaise in Asia Minor, which prompted their departure,[91] citing in particular Borchhardt's observation that no

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[85] Bryce 1986: 106 & n. 18; *contra* Jones 1971: 97.
[86] Bryce 1986: 107.
[87] *ATL* III, 334, 420.
[88] *ATL* III, 212 n. 79.
[89] Treuber 1887: 100; Benndorf 1900: 118; Beloch 1927: 197-98; Houwink ten Cate 1961: 5 & n. 7; Metzger 1979a: 34; Childs 1981: 62 & n. 33; Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI*, p. 283.
[90] Mørkholm, Zahle 1976: 75-76.
[91] Childs 1981: 61-62 & n. 31 (cf. Cook 1961 for the general situation).

sculptured monuments were built under Athenian domination[92] and Demargne's that monuments from the late fifth century on were of limestone, not marble.[93] It is, however, uncertain whether anything can be made of this; Zahle argues that the prolific construction of funerary monuments indicates a surplus of wealth,[94] and the large issue of coinage (more than any other Anatolian native people in the Achaemenid period)[95] may support this.

Whatever the reason, there seems to have been a general departure of states in south-western Asia Minor at about this time.[96] This has been connected with the revolt of Samos, and an increased Persian presence;[97] some have even suggested that a new agreement over spheres of influence was reached between Athens and Persia.[98] Whether or not this was so, the Lycians certainly joined this mass exodus, though states on their borders, such as Kalynda, Krya and Phaselis, did not. The departure of Telemessos, Tymnessos and Hiera at the same time may indicate that these were now, if not beforehand, absorbed into the Lycian state.

One last point is apparent from the ease with which the Lycians were allowed to leave the League; they were not bound by the same oaths as had bound the original members of the League with regard to permanent membership.[99] Had the Lycians, and the other states that left at the same time, been so bound, the Athenians could not have allowed them to leave without taking some action, since simply to waive the oaths would have set a precedent for other recalcitrant allies; no such precedent is ever referred to, yet there is no evidence that the Athenians mounted any action at this point to bring south-west Asia Minor into line.

Although there is no evidence, it seems likely that the Lycians returned to Persian allegiance when they left Athens. They were certainly Persian vassals again within the next two decades or so, and it seems unlikely that no longer under Athenian protection they they would have been able seriously to defy Persia, even if the Persians were not implicated in the defection in the first place.

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92 Borchhardt 1980: 7; this is not entirely true, however, as the Sarpedoneion (Keen 1992a: 55-56; 1996a) seems to have been built (or rebuilt) after *c.* 470 (Metzger 1963: 60-61).

93 Demargne 1958: 86.

94 Zahle 1989: 172.

95 Zahle 1989: 171.

96 *ATL* III, 212.

97 Treuber 1887: 100; Olmstead 1948: 343.

98 Lewis 1977: 60 n. 70; Badian 1993: 39.

99 The traditional interpretation (e.g. Meiggs 1972: 46) of the sinking of iron weights in the sea at the foundation of the League ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 23.5; Plut. *Arist.* 25.1), that it symbolized the permanence of the alliance (derived from the explanation given to a similar procedure by Hdt. 1.165.3) is surely correct. The attempt to argue a different interpretation by Jacobsen 1975 on the basis of adduced Near Eastern parallels is unconvincing speculation that requires Herodotus to be ignorant of Greek practices, which seems unlikely.

CHAPTER NINE

ATHENIAN ATTEMPTS TO REGAIN LYCIA IN THE ARCHIDAMIAN WAR

It is clear that, despite the withdrawal of the Lycian state from the Delian League, there remained some allies of Athens in the area at the outset of the Peloponnesian War. From the wartime tribute lists it can be seen that Krya was an ally at least as late as 428/7 (*IG* i³ 283.ii.28), whilst Phaselis was as late as 415/4 (p. 234).[1] Thucydides may have intended to include these states amongst the coastal Carians whom he mentions as Athenian allies in 431 (2.9.4-5),[2] since the allies appear to be listed according to their tribute districts.[3]

Further information on Athenian contacts with Lycia emerges from the account of the invasion of Lycia by Melesandros in 430/29, for which Thucydides (2.69) is the main source:

> τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου χειμῶνος 'Αθηναῖοι ναῦς ἔστειλαν . . . ἑτέρας δὲ ἓξ ἐπὶ Καρίας καὶ Λυκίας καὶ Μελήσανδρον στρατηγόν, ὅπως ταῦτά τε ἀργυρολογῶσι καὶ τὸ ληστικὸν τῶν Πελοποννησίων μὴ ἐῶσιν αὐτόθεν ὁρμώμενον βλάπτειν τὸν πλοῦν τῶν ὁλκάδων τῶν ἀπὸ Φασήλιδος καὶ Φοινίκης καὶ τῆς ἐκεῖθεν ἠπείρου. (2) ἀναβὰς δὲ στρατιᾷ 'Αθηναίων τε τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων ἐς τὴν Λυκίαν ὁ Μελήσανδρος ἀποθνήσκει καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς μέρος τι διέφθειρε νικηθεὶς μάχῃ.

> The following winter [430/29] the Athenians sent ... six ships to Caria and Lycia, under the command of Melesandros, to collect tribute from these [places], and to prevent Peloponnesian privateers setting out from there to attack merchantmen from Phaselis and Phoinike and the coastline thereabouts. Melesandros advanced inland to Lycia with an army of Athenians

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1 See most recently for the date of *IG* i³ 283, Meritt 1980; Piérart (1984: 172-76; 1985: 298-99; 1988: 309-21) argues for a date of 426/5. Mattingly 1978: 83-84 rejects *ATL*'s reading [Κρυ ἐς ἀπὸ Καρία]ς.

2 'Αθηναίων δὲ ... Καρία ἡ ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ, Δωριῆς Καρσὶ πρόσοικοι ... τούτων ναυτικὸν παρείχοντο Χῖοι, Λέσβιοι, Κερκυραῖοι, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πεζὸν καὶ χρήματα: "Coastal Caria, and the Dorians living near to the Carians, ... [were allies] of the Athenians. Of these [all the allies], the Chians, Lesbians and Corcyraeans provided naval forces, and the others infantry and money".

3 For Thucydides' listing of the allies by districts: Wiedemann 1985: 65; Rusten 1989: 108. Note the view of Smart 1977 that the whole of Thuc. 2.9 is an interpolation; see also Hornblower 1991b: 247-48.

from the ships and allies, was beaten in battle, and he and a section of his army were killed.

Since the 'Phoinike' mentioned was probably the port of Limyra (pp. 225-27), the ships coming from Phoinike may have been the result of a trading relationship between Athens and Limyra; further evidence of Atheno-Limyran contact comes from the name of the later dynast Perikle (p. 156). It is unlikely that this relationship extended to independent Limyran membership of the League, however, since Limyra was still at this point part of the Lycian state, and an alliance with Athens independent of Xanthos would be very much discouraged by the Xanthian rulers.

The motives for the expedition need to be examined.[4]

It has been suggested that arrears of tribute were to be collected, but the Greek at this point, *argyrologôsi*, does not necessarily imply arrears[5] (literally it means no more than '[so that] they might collect money'). It may be true that some arrears would have been demanded; but it is unlikely that they were sought in full. Assuming that the ten talents recorded in 446/5 (*IG* i³ 266.iii.33-34) was the usual payment, by 430/29 the Lycians would have owed at least a hundred talents. The rulers of Lycia may not have had such large amounts of money readily available, although it should be remembered that later in the war Alkibiades was able to extract a hundred talents from Caria in less than a year, albeit with a somewhat larger fleet (Xen. *Hell.* 1.4.8-9).

Both Lycia and those Carian cities that had departed from the League in the 440s would owe arrears, though there is no direct evidence in Thucydides that these were to be collected. However, it would parallel Persian practice[6] for the Athenians never to have entirely abandoned their claims to Lycian tribute, and to want to collect as much as possible now the cities of Caria and Lycia that had once been in the tribute system were to be brought in again.

The amount of tribute that might realistically be expected from Caria and Lycia might not, however, seem to justify such an expedition, especially as the force was perhaps unusually large for a tribute-collecting fleet,[7] though fairly small for an invasion force. On the other hand, it is

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4 See further Keen 1993a: 75; 1993b: 153-55, of which the following is an adapted version.

5 Though so translated by Smith 1951: 385; Marchant 1984: 214; cf. also Buschmann 1988: 1 n. 3. Rhodes 1988: 249 points out that the same language is used at Thuc. 3.19 and 4.50.1, where, he suggests (following Meiggs 1972: 254), it is probably special imposts that are being collected; this is rejected by Hornblower 1991b: 355. Lewis 1992a: 5 suggests that the despatch of ἀργυρολόγοι νῆες might be annual occurrences that Thucydides mentions only when an important event occurred in connection with them.

6 Compare Thuc. 8.5.5, the King's decision in 412 to recommence collecting tribute from those cities previously under Athenian control.

7 Kagan 1974: 97.

true that the Athenians had spent nearly four thousand talents of their reserves by the end of the year 430/29 (cf. Thuc. 3.17.3).[8]

The reference to 'Peloponnesian pirates' is worth noting. They surely cannot have been actual forces from the Peloponnese, since such forces would hardly have been able in 430 to cross the Aegean safely.[9] It has been suggested that they were small local vessels practising piracy against Athenian merchantmen; they are described as 'Peloponnesian' because they happened to be serving Sparta's interests.[10]

Once again, it seems likely that Lycia's strategic location played an important role in Athens' decision to despatch Melesandros.[11] Most probably, the Athenians were attempting to forestall any potential Persian intervention in the Peloponnesian War, by the simple expedient of keeping their ships out of the Aegean. Both sides in the Peloponnesian War clearly recognized the potential for a Persian intervention (note Thuc. 2.7, where both sides planned to send embassies to Persia, and compare also 3.31.1, where pro-Spartan Ionians and Lesbians express the belief that the local satrap can be involved, and Aristophanes' satire of Athenian hopes for Persian assistance at *Ach.* 69-125),[12] in order that the Great King might regain the territories on the coast of Asia Minor that had been lost after the defeat of Xerxes' expedition in 479. It must have been obvious that the Peace of Kallias would hold only up to the moment that the Persians judged it opportune to intervene. Persia had made overtures to Sparta during the First Peloponnesian War (Thuc. 1.109.3, though admittedly there was then an Athenian force interfering with Persian territory in Egypt) and in 430 Spartan envoys had been captured in Thrace whilst preparing to cross over to Asia (Thuc. 2.67.1). The Athenians must have feared that other envoys could have got through, and hoped that if they controlled the naval route into the Aegean they could keep the Persians from intervening successfully. The fact that the expedition was sent out in winter, when sailing conditions were at their worst,[13] shows that the matter was one of some urgency.[14]

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[8] Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI*, p. 217. According to Thuc. 2.13.3, reserves in 431 stood at six thousand talents; see now Lewis 1995b: 385.

[9] Though Buschmann 1988: 6, and Pritchett 1991: 328-29 believe they were actual Peloponnesians.

[10] So Ormerod 1928: 111; Keen 1993b: 153; see now Hornblower 1991b: 355. It was, however, the Phaseliots who had the reputation in antiquity for piracy; note Dem. 35.1-2 for one accused of this; Cic. *Verr.* 4.10; also Plut. *Mor.* 247f, 248a; *Etym. Magn.* 219. Contrariwise, Str. 14.3.2 [664] notes that despite the natural advantages of the area for such activities, the Lycians did *not* indulge in piracy.

[11] Keen 1993a: 75.

[12] Also note MacDowell 1971: 278-79 on *Vesp.* 1137.

[13] Rightly drawn attention to by Buschmann 1988: 6 n. 30.

[14] Thucydides is perhaps recording the official motives for the expedition; since the Athenians had a negotiated peace with the Persians, they could hardly publicly declare that they were taking

Grain also may well have been an important reason for the Athenian action. Since the Periklean strategy in the Peloponnesian War assumed that the population of Athens would be fed from imported grain, the route to the Black Sea was an obvious weak point; Athens may well have been looking towards Egyptian grain as an alternative, and control of Lycia would assist the safe transport of such grain (p. 33),[15] or perhaps even Lycia might have been a grain supplier.[16] This may be what the merchantmen from Phaselis and Phoinike that Thucydides mentions here and never again were carrying. Later Athenian merchantmen travelling from Egypt, which the Spartans intended to capture if possible, are mentioned (Thuc. 8.35.2), and these probably also travelled along the Lycian coast.

Other cargoes apart from grain may be guessed at from fragments of the Attic comic poet Hermippus, who lists as standard imports into Athens paper and sailcloth from Egypt and dates and wheat flour from Phoenicia (fr. 63.12-13, 22-23),[17] all of which would have probably come past the Lycian coast. It has also been suggested that these vessels were bringing ship-timber from eastern Lycia,[18] though since the failure of Melesandros' expedition seems to have caused little harm to Athens' capacity for shipbuilding, either these vessels were not intercepted or, if they were, the supply of ship timber from Lycia may not have been very significant.[19]

The expedition was a disaster for the Athenians. Melesandros landed in Caria, and proceeded inland; the geographer Pausanias supplies evidence for his route when mentioning the tombs of famous men in Athens (1.29.7):

> ... Μελήσανδρος ἐς τὴν ἄνω Καρίαν ναυσὶν ἀναπλεύσας διὰ τοῦ Μαιάνδρου.
>
> ... Melesandros who sailed his ships into inland Caria along the Maiandros.

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action in anticipation of hostilities. Therefore they gave other reasons, which had to be plausible (this has a bearing on the question of piracy in the area; clearly the Athenians must have felt that it would be believed that pirates were a sufficient threat that action should be taken against them); see Keen 1993b: 155.

[15] See Pritchett 1991: 465-72 for the importance of grain in Athenian strategic thinking. Hornblower 1991a: 40-41 argues for interest in Egyptian corn being behind the Athenian expedition there in the 450s. Garnsey 1988a: 124 acknowledges the role of the grain route in Periklean strategy.

[16] Of note in this regard are the two Hadrianic granaries at Patara and Andriake (see Wörrle in Borchhardt 1975b: 67-68, 70; Balland 1981: 217), which may have been either for storing grain on its way from Egypt (Zimmermann 1992b), or for grain collected from Lycia (possibly, however, they may have been for grain being imported into Lycia.

[17] Edmonds 1957: 306-07.

[18] Dickinson 1979: 214; Buschmann 1988: 6.

[19] In my original treatment of this issue (1993b) I laid the greatest emphasis upon the importance of Lycia for keeping the Persian fleet out of the Aegean. I still feel that the strategic

There is no reason to follow Treuber in believing that Pausanias has confused the expedition of Melesandros with the later one of Lysikles;[20] as will be argued below (p. 134), it should be expected that these two expeditions would follow similar courses. The furthest Melesandros might have gone along the river would perhaps be Tralles, before turning south and following the Marsyas valley towards Idrias and Idyma, which was the easiest route into Lycia; to have travelled further east and taken the route by the Harpasos valley would have certainly taken him too far out of his way, and left him with a more difficult crossing into Lycia itself. Since, however, states this far inland seem never to have numbered amongst Athens' allies, he may have turned south sooner and made his way around the Carian coast, for as he went towards Lycia he was collecting additional forces from the allies; but a coastal itinerary would leave unexplained Pausanias' use of *ano*. Perhaps the best explanation is that Melesandros himself took the Marsyas route, whilst his ships followed him around the coast, collecting troops from the coastal Carians.

The force which Melesandros brought from Athens cannot have been very large. If his ships were triremes, then he would probably only have had sixty marines accompanying him. Since the campaign he mounted was a land campaign, it is perhaps more likely that the ships he brought with him were troop-carriers of the Kimonian type;[21] this would provide him with a force of perhaps *c.* two hundred and forty marines. In whichever case, it would seem that the Athenian contingent was intended to be a core around which an allied force could be built. In this respect it should be compared with the expedition of Demosthenes to Aetolia in 428 (Thuc. 3.94-95), where the plan was to augment an initial small Athenian force with allied contingents. In this connection it should be noted that Melesandros appears to get assistance from Tlos (p. 132).

For Melesandros' actions once he reached Lycia, there fortunately exists the Inscribed Pillar (pp. 9-10), a section of which describes the expedition from the point of view of the leading Lycian dynast of the day (*TAM* i 44.*a*.42-45).

The first thing that can almost certainly be established is the name of the owner of the Pillar,[22] although in all the places where it is certain that the owner's name is given (*a*.1, 30, *c*.24), that name has been partially or wholly obliterated. The tomb was originally identified as belonging to the coin-issuing dynast Kherẽi; the only grounds for doing so is the assump-

factor was very important (and generally overlooked in modern studies) but would now give more weight than I did then to grain and timber supplies.

[20] Treuber 1887: 101.

[21] For these see Morrison, Coates 1986: 155.

[22] For the identification of Kheriga as owner, see Bousquet 1975: 141-42; 1992: 168-69; Keen 1992a: 59; *contra* Childs 1979.

tion that the Kheriga mentioned in the pedigree of the owner (*a*.30) was the dynast of that name. Recently, however, it has been persuasively argued that the dynast Kheriga, Kherẽi's predecessor, should be identified as the owner of the tomb.[23] Inscriptions found in the Letoön, the sanctuary associated with Xanthos,[24] have shown that the Greek form of *Xeriga* was *Gergis*, which Bousquet suggests fits the surviving letters ([- -]ρ[-]ις) in the gap where the owner's name should be in the Greek epigram (*SEG* 42 1245.5 = *TAM* i 44.*c*.24).[25] The attribution is further supported by the suggestion of Laroche that the gap in the Lycian inscription was of six letters not five; this would allow *Xeriga* but exclude *Xerẽi*.[26]

Childs has attempted to prove that the gap is in fact five letters,[27] but as he himself admits, it is difficult to prove that his restoration is correct, only that Kherẽi should not be excluded on these grounds.[28] Other grounds for selecting a restoration must be investigated. It certainly might appear desirable to accept the restoration in the Greek epigram of *Gergis*, an attested Greek form of a Lycian name, rather than a hypothetical Greek version of *Xerẽi*, e.g. *Κόρρις.[29] The final argument advanced by Childs is that in the historical section of the text, Kheriga's name appears only once in a possibly non-genealogical context (*a*.10), whilst Kherẽi's name appears three times in certainly non-genealogical contexts (*a*.47 & 48, *b*.23).[30] This, however, ought to be an argument against accepting Kherẽi as the tomb's owner. On another lengthy historical text inscribed on the tomb of the fourth-century figure Ikuwe (*TAM* i 29), the tomb owner's name is mentioned only once, at the very beginning of the inscription, whilst a number of other figures are named subsequently. It seems very likely then that Kherẽi is named in order that his actions might be distinguished from the actions of the tomb owner. Also a figure appears on the reliefs of the Pillar[31] wearing an Attic helm. This might be a representation of Kheriga himself,[32] who is depicted as such on his coins.[33] The Pillar is therefore al-

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[23] Identification by Bousquet 1975: 139-41, argued against by Childs 1979.

[24] Le Roy 1990: 41.

[25] Bousquet 1975: 141-42.

[26] Laroche 1974: 145-46.

[27] Childs 1979.

[28] Childs 1979: 100.

[29] Imbert 1894: 271. Whilst this name exists (*CIG* ii 2694.a.6) it is known from an inscription from Mylasa and hence was probably a Carian name—nowhere is it attested as a Greek form of a Lycian name (so Bousquet 1987: 127). Bousquet (1992: 169) uses the example *Χήρεις, though he wants to restore Γέργις. The suggestion (Schwabacher 1968: 113) that Kherẽi's name was a Lycian form of the Lydian Kroisos seems most unlikely.

[30] Childs 1979: 101.

[31] Demargne 1958.

[32] Eichner 1993: 140 n. 121.

[33] Mørkholm, Zahle 1976: 79.

most certainly the tomb of Kheriga. It was topped by a grave chamber depicting Kheriga's military triumphs,[34] and a statue of the king above that.[35]

The fate of Melesandros is recorded towards the bottom of the south face (*a*.44-45):

> *... ese : Trbbẽnimi : tebete : terñ se*
> *Milasãñtrã : ...*

> ... with Trbbẽnimi he [i.e. Kheriga] defeated [?] the army and [= of?] Melesandros.[36]

Since the inscription turns almost immediately (by *b*.52 at the latest; the intervening gap seems to be filled with victory dedications to various gods) to what appear to be events of the Ionian War (412-404), Thompson suggested that the Melesandros recorded here is in fact a different general, connecting this passage with a restoration by Meritt[37] of the name in an Athenian inscription from 414/3 recording loans from the treasurers of Athena (*IG* i³ 371.3), and suggesting that he was the recipient of funds in order to conduct a campaign in Lycia.[38] It seems something of an unlikely coincidence, however, for two generals of the same name to be defeated on separate expeditions to the same place.[39] It might be argued that the sending of two members of the same family to the same area was a rational action, which would require the assumption that Melesandros and his family had local knowledge, not of itself unlikely. Yet there is no compelling reason to postulate an otherwise unknown Athenian attack on Lycia when that recorded in Thucydides will suit the text perfectly well; the rapid move from the events of 429 to *c*. 412 may simply mean that Kheriga was fortunate enough to enjoy a decade or more of peace from foreign attack.[40]

Slightly before the account of Melesandros' campaign on the Pillar are recorded what seem to be perhaps engagements at three sites; Zagaba, Tymnessos and Patara (*a*.42-43). Bean suggests that these cities were actively supporting Melesandros,[41] but the mention of them may be no more than locating the sites of battles.[42]

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34 Bruns-Özgan 1987: 53-56.

35 Demargne 1958 102. For a reconstruction see Demargne, Coupel 1963: fig. 4.

36 The translation is based upon that of Bryce 1986: 107.

37 Meritt 1932: 88.

38 Thompson 1967: 105-06. Meritt (1932: 90) believes that this was payment to the Athenian general Euetion (Thuc. 7.9) and restored Melesandros' name in the genitive, suggesting that Euetion might have been his son; Thompson restores the name in the dative. Thompson's idea finds support in Childs 1981: 64; Develin 1989: 153.

39 Cf. Bryce 1986: 108.

40 Bryce 1986: 108, suggests that the reference to 430/29 may be a "historical flashback".

41 Bean 1978: 178, drawing upon the work of König 1936 and Stoltenberg 1955.

42 Contrary to the observation made concerning Patara in Keen 1993a: 75 n. 37.

The locations of Zagaba and Tymnessos are unknown (pp. 110, 120-21). Stoltenberg places them in the eastern Xanthos valley, and suggests an itinerary for Melesandros of Patara—Tlos[43]—Zagaba/Tymnessos.[44] This would require his passing Xanthos, and Stoltenberg is unaware that Kyaneai is mentioned in the Lycian text,[45] which points to a different itinerary.

If this passage is a list of battles, then it seems that Melesandros did not travel overland from Tymnessos to Patara, since to do so he would have had to have passed Xanthos. If he had done this, there would surely be an engagement at Xanthos mentioned on the Pillar, as Xanthos was the key to Lycia. No such engagement can be found. It may therefore be surmised that Melesandros was defeated at Tymnessos, since the record of these engagements on a monument that praises the achievements of Kheriga might lead one to guess that these were victorious occasions.

Beaten away from the passes that led into the Xanthos valley, Melesandros must have come round to Patara by sea. From Patara he appears to have moved inland into central Lycia, to the city of Kyaneai; at some point he seems to have linked up with allies from Tlos, since there is a Tloan army recorded on the Pillar as being at Kyaneai, which was possibly captured by the dynast Kherẽi (*a*.46),[46] presumably acting as a general in Kheriga's army; therefore Tlos can be assumed to have been supporting Melesandros. Probably Melesandros' plan, having failed to gain entrance to the Xanthos valley in the north, was to threaten Xanthos from the south, whilst his Tloan allies threatened from the north.

Instead he was forced eastward, how one cannot say, and at Kyaneai (*TAM* i 44.*a*.44) he was defeated and killed. Kheriga seems to have been assisted by Trbbẽnimi, who was a member of the nobility who probably had connections with Limyra (p. 156). According to the Pillar (*a*.46), Kheriga himself seems to have dealt with the forces of Tlos in co-operation with Kherẽi. Stoltenberg believes that Trbbẽnimi was involved in the fighting at Zagaba, Tymnessos and Patara,[47] but although this is not impossible, Stoltenberg suggests it because of his belief that the Lycian word *zẽm̃tija* (*a*.42) was the Lycian name of Limyra; in fact, the Lycian name of that city is now known to have been *Zẽmure*.[48] Stoltenberg also suggests

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[43] For Tlos as part of his itinerary, see below.

[44] Stoltenberg 1955: 37.

[45] This was established by Carruba 1981: 294.

[46] *Xerẽi : qastte : terñ : Tlahñ.* Bryce 1986: 109 & n. 125, translates "Kherẽi disciplined (?) the army of Tlos"; Melchert 1989: 53, suggested a meaning 'seize' for *qastte*, but this is replaced by "'destroy' (or sim.)" in 1993a: 59.

[47] Stoltenberg 1955: 37.

[48] Melchert 1993a: 98; the identification of *Zẽmure* and Limyra was not apparent until the discovery of an inscription at the Letoön; see N 312.5. The meaning of *zẽm̃tija* remains obscure; cf. Melchert 1993a: 97.

that there were Persian cavalry units in the force that defeated Melesandros,[49] on the grounds that the Lycian word for 'horse' (*esbe-*)[50] appears at *a*.36 in close proximity to two words, *hmenedi* (*a*.36) and *medezedi* (*a*.37), which Stoltenberg suggests are the equivalents of 'Achaemenid' and 'Median'. It should be noted, however, that 'Achaemenid' was hardly ever used by the ancients in the modern sense as a synonym for 'Persian'; Herodotus uses it solely to refer to the clan from which the ruling house of Persia came.

A portion of Melesandros' army survived, as Thucydides makes clear; the public memorial seen by Pausanias is a sign of his importance, though nothing else is known about him, unless, as Meritt suggests, Euetion was his son.[51] It seems that the Athenians were over-optimistic about the chances of winning over the Lycians. Melesandros certainly seems to have received help from Carian allies and very likely from Tlos as well; there may even have been support from some of the small Lycian border states in the Indos plain and thereabouts that are known from the tribute lists, such as Telemessos and Tymnessos. The small size of force originally committed from Athens suggests that it was expected that Lycia as a whole would be easily won over. This misconception might well have been encouraged by the relations that seem to have been in operation between Athens and Limyra (pp. 132, 156). It might well be possible that Athens expected Limyra to support Melesandros; in the event, however, Trbbẽnimi stayed loyal to the Lycian rulers at Xanthos.

The final act of this particular conflict seems to have been the defeat by Kheriga and Kherẽi of the otherwise unknown Wakhssepddimi (*TAM* i 44.*a*.48-49),[52] in which context the Lycian numeral for seven appears, which may relate to the claim of Kheriga in the Greek epigram of the Pillar (*SEG* 42 1245.10 = *TAM* i 44.*c*.29):[53]

> ἑπτα δὲ ὁπλίτας κτεῖνειν ἐν ἡμέραι Ἀρκάδας ἄνδρας
>
> He killed seven heavily-armed Arcadian men in a day.

It has alternatively been suggested that the Arcadians were mercenaries in the service of Amorges.[54]

Defeated in their first attempt to secure south-west Asia Minor, the Athenians seem to have tried again. In 428 they despatched the general

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[49] Stoltenberg 1955: 37.

[50] Cf. Melchert 1993a: 20.

[51] Meritt 1932: 90; rejected by Develin 1989: 119, 153.

[52] *ese : Xerẽi : tebete : [t]er[ñ] se Waχssepddimi*; cf. the account of the defeat of Melesandros (p. 131).

[53] Bugge 1898: 232; Childs 1981: 64; Bryce 1986: 61; cf. Meriggi 1936: 279 & n. 6; Neumann 1969: 373; Laroche 1979: 101.

[54] Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI*, p. 283; p. 137.

Lysikles[55] with twelve ships and four other generals (Thuc. 3.19.2). Again, Thucydides gives a financial reason for the expeditions; that the Athenians wished to collect funds for the siege of Mytilene. Lysikles' expedition, however, started from exactly the same place as Melesandros'; it is very possible that once again an attempt was being made to seize control of Caria and Lycia, although the authors of *ATL* suggest that the expedition was directed at former Athenian tributaries in the Maiandros valley.[56] The expedition of Lysikles was even less successful than that of Melesandros; he managed to get no further than the lower Maiandros valley before he was killed by the Carians at Sandios.[57] The disaster of Melesandros had probably encouraged a number of the outlying Carian states to abandon their allegiance to Athens. Kaunos is known to have revolted at some point (Ctes. F 14.45), and this may have been in the early 420s.[58] Perhaps more surprising is that the tribute records of the coastal Carian states seem to indicate that most remained fairly loyal.[59]

The tribute assessment decree of 425/4, increased the tribute paid by the Athenian allies. Here a number of Lycian states are mentioned, but the listing seems to reflect the political realities of two decades previously.[60] There was then a period of over ten years in which nothing is known of Athenian relations with Lycia, nor indeed of Lycia's internal history.

It has, however, been suggested that there were Lycian slaves in the Athenian navy must be considered. Sundwall[61] suggested that six individual slaves recorded on an Athenian naval decree of the late fifth or early fourth century (*IG* ii^2 1951)[62] were Lycians. Five of these individuals are named Artimas (1951.73, 143, 165, 371, 401) and one is named Sarpedon. Sarpedon was of course the name of the most famous Lycian hero (p. 208-10). Artimas also appears in Lycia, on a sepulchral inscription from Limyra;[63] it appears to be an indigenous Anatolian name.[64] It is therefore possible that all these individuals could be Lycian, but it is by no means

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[55] A man of considerable importance; according to Plutarch he was 'first among the Athenians' (*Per.* 24.6), supported by Aristophanes' description of him as a leading figure (*Eq.* 132 with scholia).

[56] *ATL* I, 515; these tributaries are known from *IG* i^3 71.i.133; 259.iii.29; 261.iv.5; 267.v.19.

[57] For the location of Sandios at Yürüklü: Robert 1959a: 19-22; Hornblower 1991b: 404-05.

[58] Meiggs 1972: 436-37, supports this date; cf. Wells 1923: 104, and Hornblower 1982: 28 n. 176, in favour of an earlier date *c.* 440/39.

[59] For possible further Athenian attempts to recapture Lycia in the 420s and 410s, see Keen 1993b: 155-57.

[60] See further on this decree Keen 1993b: 156.

[61] Sundwall 1913: 76, 251-52; followed by Jordan 1975: 265; Bryce 1986: 137 n. 50.

[62] Date: Pope 1935: 21-22; Jordan 1975: 71-72.

[63] Discussed by Shahbazi 1975: 111-13.

[64] Zgusta 1964: 99-102.

certain, and if it is true, there is no means by which the circumstances of their arrival in Attica can be deduçed.[65]

[65] The earliest clearly-identifed Lycians found in Athens come from the mid-fourth century: Δρόμων Λύκιος (*IG* ii² 9221, mid-fourth century); Σωσίας Λύκιος (*SEG* 39 287, *c*. 350). See Osborne, Byrne 1996: nos. 3376, 3383.

CHAPTER TEN

LYCIAN RELATIONS WITH TISSAPHERNES, AND THE LAST XANTHIAN DYNASTS

After the defeat of Melesandros, the next recognisable event described on the Inscribed Pillar seems to be an incident during the Ionian War of 412-404.[1] There is mention of what is possibly an army in Ionia (*TAM* i 44.*a*.53: *terñ : Ijãnã*).[2] This is then rapidly followed by mentions of the Iasian Chersonesos (*Ijaeusas Krzzãnase*, *a*.53-54),[3] Mykale (*Mukale*, *a*.54)[4] and what is possibly a mention of Samian territory (*Sãmati*, *a*.55-56—though it must be admitted that this translation is little more than a guess based upon the context).[5] Finally there is a mention of a man by the name of Humrkhkha (*a*.55). This is almost certainly the Lycian name for Amorges,[6] who was in revolt in Caria (Thuc. 8.5.5) with Athenian backing (Andoc. 3.29).

It has long been assumed that the reference on the Pillar ties in with the Peloponnesian taking of Iasos and Amorges recorded by Thucydides (8.28),[7] but Thucydides mentions only the involvement of a Spartan naval force in the capture of Iasos, not bringing in Tissaphernes, the Persian satrap, until after the city has fallen (8.28). Thucydides' previous mention of Tissaphernes, however, is in connection with fighting at Miletos (8.25); in this fighting he was accompanied by mercenaries. If the mentions on the Pillar of the Iasian Chersonesos and Mykale, which are in the vicinity of Miletos and where fighting would be likely to take place, are taken with the immediately subsequent mention of Amorges, the coincidence of the account with that of Thucydides strongly suggests that the usual assumption is sound. It therefore seems very likely that at least a sizeable proportion of Tissaphernes' mercenary force was made up of Lycians (see pp.

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1 Prof. Melchert (pers. comm.) has suggested that *CII : u[le]* on the Pillar (*a*.48) refers to the passage of *c.* seven to twelve years. This would be appropriate given its placement between the campaigns against Melesandros and Amorges.

2 For the meaning 'army' for *terñ:* Bryce 1986: 107.

3 For the meaning 'peninsula' for *Krzzãnase:* Meriggi 1980: 223. Note that according to Stephanus (692.11) ἔστι καὶ ἄλλη ἄκρα Χερρόνησος ἐν Λυκίᾳ.

4 This suggestion has been accepted by Melchert 1993a: 105, though mistakenly listed as a personal name, not a place name.

5 Melchert 1993a: 61 has no suggestion to make as to the meaning or grammatical form.

6 Kalinka 1901: 46.

7 Imbert 1889-1890: 160; Bugge 1898: 231-36; Childs 1981: 64; Bryce 1986: 109 & n. 24.

227-28 for Lycian mercenaries). Paying these mercenaries perhaps provides a context for Tissaphernes' minting coinage at Xanthos, inscribed in Lycian and on the west-Lycian standard (M 221).[8]

Perhaps it is at this point that Kheriga's slaying of Arcadian hoplites (*SEG* 42 1245.10 = *TAM* i 44.*c*.29; cf. p. 133) took place; certainly Meiggs and Lewis believe so.[9] Some attention should also be given to the many acropoleis that Kheriga is supposed to have sacked (*SEG* 42 1245.7 = *TAM* i 44.*c*.26), though we do not know enough about Kheriga's military career to speculate where any of these acropoleis might have been (except possibly that Iasos was one of them).[10]

It seems conceivable that Tissaphernes held Kheriga in a position of some trust. Melchert has recently provided the following interpretation of lines *b*.64-*c*.9 of the Pillar:

> *Spart*[*azi* (?)....*e*]*ine n*[....]*tãte : Zisaprñna*[*je* (?) *Widrñna*]*he : tideimi : se Parzza : Xbide : se Sp*[*part*]*ali*[*j*]*ahe : trbbi : Atãnas : zχχate : terñ : me ñ*[*n*]*e* (*e*)*mu : aχaga : maraza : me ubu hãtẽ : kbijẽti : se Utãna : sttati : sttala : ti : Malijahi : pddãti ddew : zχχazai ne une : mseweh : mi : se Xbide sttati mẽ : sttala : ẽti: qlahi* (*e*)*bijehi : se Mal*[*i*]*jahi : se*[(*j*)] *Ertemehi : se Xñtawatehi : Xbidñhi*

> The Spartans [?] —ed to—[?] Tissaphernes son of Hydarnes, and the Persian[s] in Kaunos, and the [allies] of the Spartans [?], when [?] they were fighting against Athens. I became judge [= arbiter] for them. They issued a double [?] guarantee [?]: "Both in Hytenna[11] a stele shall be set down for Malija—In place/on the spot ... the fighters [?] ...—And in Kaunos[12] likewise [?] a stele shall be put down for the local precinct and for Malija and for Artemis and for the King of Kaunos."[13]

Melchert has suggested that this passage refers to an agreement between Tissaphernes and his Spartan allies in the Ionian War, in which Kheriga acted as a mediator (he rightly argues that a Lycian would be unlikely to act as a mediator between the Athenians and their enemies). Thucydides

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[8] The coin carries the legend *Zisa*[*prñ*]*na* on the reverse and [ ]*ñna*[ ] on the obverse; the latter is almost certainly [*Ar*]*ñna*[*he*] (= 'of Xanthos'), as suggested by M, p. 25. Zahle 1989: 172 n. 9, argues that this coin must date after the erection of the Inscribed Pillar, since the depiction of Athena on the reverse has a similarity to the depiction of Athena on the coins of Ddenewele (Hurter 1979: 101-03 nos. 7-21), who is not mentioned on the Pillar; this argument is tenuous in the extreme, since there might be a number of reasons for the absence of Ddenewele from the Pillar's inscription.

[9] Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI*, p. 283. Their other suggestion, that they may have been in the service of the Spartans, is hardly likely given the co-operation between the Lycians and the Spartans.

[10] The assumption of de Ste. Croix 1972: 38, that they were necessarily Greek, is unwarranted.

[11] For *Utãna* = Hytenna: Melchert 1993a: 85, after St. Byz. 653.18 *s.v.* Ὕτεννα. Cf. Zgusta 1984: 656, commenting on Hdt. 3.90.1.

[12] For *Xbide* = Kaunos: Laroche 1979: 64, Melchert 1993a: 91.

[13] The Βασιλεὺς Καύνιος was an important Carian cult; Laroche 1979: *passim*; Bryce 1986: 191-93. Text and translation of this passage are taken from Melchert 1993b: 31.

(8.57.1) records that Tissaphernes negotiated at one point with the Spartans at Kaunos, attempting to persuade the Spartans to go to Miletos for full negotiations over a final treaty. It may well be that both Thucydides and the Pillar are dealing with the same events. This suggestion is reinforced by the appearance on the Pillar of the name *Erijamãna* very shortly after this section (*c*.12).[14] The overall context of this citation is as follows (ll. 11-13):

> *se mẽ Kizzaprñna : Widrñnah : sew Erijamãna telẽzijehi : qlã Arñnas : kehiχñta : erbbedi ñtube : ẽr*[.]

Van den Hout translates these lines as follows:

> Tissaphernes, (son) of Hydarnes, and Hieramenes ... -ed (?) the headquarters-precinct[15] (and) Xanthos at/for the *kehiχñta* (?) through battle ...[16]

The name *Erijãmana* was identified by Kalinka with the name Ἱεραμένης,[17] carried by one of the Persian negotiators at the final treaty between Sparta and Persia that soon followed the negotiations at Kaunos (Thuc. 8.58.1). The agreement about which stelai were erected in Kaunos and Hytenna, however, seems likely to have been more than a simple agreement to further talks in Miletos; but what it was is unknown. Nor can one see what the battle involved in the latter section might be, if van den Hout's translation is accepted; but it seems more likely to a further part of the fighting against the Athenians in south-west Asia Minor than to be any fight actually in the proximity of Xanthos, unless it is to be connected with the other indications of civil strife in Lycia (p. 141).

In general the ruling dynasty at Xanthos seems to have become more pro-Persian, both politically and culturally, after the accession of Kheriga. The father of Kheriga, Arppakhu, bore an Iranian name, as did Kheriga's son Erbbina.[18] Kheriga's successor Kherẽi (p. 147) often depicted himself on his coins clad in a Persian tiara or *bashlik*,[19] a practice subsequently followed by other dynasts, such as Krñna,[20] Ddenewele[21] and Arttum̃para. The inscriptions set up by Erbbina, who had an Iranian name (p. 62) in the Letoön (p. 141) show him aspiring to virtues closely paralleling those vir-

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[14] Prof. Bryce (pers. comm.).

[15] But see p. 164 n. 117 for *telẽzije*.

[16] Van den Hout 1995b: 159.

[17] Kalinka 1901: 46; see now Schmitt 1982b: 379. Olmstead 1948: 360 identified it with Ἀριάραμνες.

[18] For the Iranian nature of the name: Schmitt 1982a: 23 no. 16; 1982b: 375-76.

[19] Schwabacher 1968: 113-17; Mørkholm, Zahle 1976: 80-84; Cahn 1975 suggests that these are in fact portraits of Tissaphernes; but see Zahle's counter-arguments (Mørkholm, Zahle 1976: 82-84). For examples, *GHHIL*, 174-75 nos. 73-77.

[20] Hill 1921: 174 no. 25; *GHHIL*, 175 no. 79.

[21] Zahle 1990: 55; Hurter 1979: 101, follows Cahn's (1975) interpretation of this motif for Ddenewele.

tues aspired to by the Achaemenid Kings.[22]

If Kheriga acted as an intermediary in negotiations between Sparta and Tissaphernes, it may indicate that the Spartans were making direct contact with the Lycians. This would not be surprising. If Sparta could get a fleet from Persia they had a much better chance of bringing the war to a swift conclusion; it was therefore in their interests to make sure that the naval route for such a fleet was friendly. Furthermore, the Spartans were also deliberately seeking to capture Athenian merchantmen on their way from Egypt (Thuc. 8.35.2).

After this point the history of Lycia becomes rather unclear. Later Spartan interest in Lycia is perhaps indicated by the appearance of *Lusñtre*, a Lycian version of the Greek name Λύσανδρος, in various forms on three Lycian inscriptions (*TAM* i 90.2; 103.2; 104.*a*.2-3),[23] two of which almost certainly,[24] and all of which may, as Bryce notes, refer to the same man.[25] The near certainty is provided by the two inscriptions (*TAM* i 103; 104) set up next to one another, which derive from a martial relief associated with a tomb in Limyra dating from the 360s; both tomb and relief seem to have been dedicated to this Lusñtre.[26] The iconography of the relief, though imperfectly understood,[27] might suggest that this Lusñtre had died in battle; he is certainly meant to be represented as a soldier. The third inscription is from Myra.

The name of the Lycian Lusñtre might represent an example of name-exchange between important Spartans and Lycians (cf. Perikle, pp. 156), conducted at the time of the activities in the Aegean of the Spartan admiral Lysandros. Name-exchange, as Herman has shown,[28] formed an important part in relations between leading families in Greek states, essentially being another form of *xenia* (guest-friendship). A father in a relationship of

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22 Herrenschmidt 1985.

23 *Lusãtra: TAM* i 90.2; *Lusãñtra: TAM* i 103.2; *Lusñtre: TAM* i 104.*a*.2-3. Melchert 1993a: 104 believes the basic form to be *Lusñtre*; Neumann 1996: 146 prefers *Lusñtra*.

24 Borchhardt *et al.* 1988.

25 Bryce 1986: 163 n. 82. Note subsequent occurrences of Lysandros in Lycian prosopography, e.g. *IGR* iii 697 from Aperlai (*SEG* 20 174). Neumann 1996: 146, puts forward the possibility that the name may be a feminine version, deriving from a Greek Λυσάνδρα. This does not seem altogether likely, and even if true would not effect the question of how far the name reflects contacts between Lycia and Sparta.

26 Translating the tomb inscription (*TAM* i 103: *ebẽñnẽ : χupã : m ene : prñnawatẽ : Tebursseli zzajaah : ddedi : Lusãñtrahñ : zeti : neri : se Xñtaburahñ ẽnẽ : Periklehe : χñtawata*) as 'This tomb Tebursseli, father [?] of Zzajaa, *zeti* of Lusñtre built for [?] him and the sister [?] of Khñtabura, while Perikle was king', and that of the relief (*TAM* i 104.*a*: *Tebursseli : prñnawate : Lusñ[tr]e : ẽti : Wazisse*) as 'Tebursseli built [this?] for Lusñtre below [?] Wazzis'; these are my own translations.

27 For an interpretation with which I am not entirely in sympathy, see Borchhardt in Borchhardt *et al.* 1988: 110-20.

28 For the relationship between naming systems and *xenia*: Herman 1987: 19-22.

xenia with a figure from outside his own *polis* would often name his son after the man whose *xenos* he was; the most famous example of this is the name-exchange between the family of the Athenian Alkibiades son of Kleinias and the Spartan ephor Endios son of Alkibiadas (Th. 8.6.3),[29] and Herman has postulated a relation between an important Spartan family and one on Thasos in which two names, Lichas and Arkesilaos, alternated from generation to generation in the two families.[30]

It is true that evidence for direct contacts between Sparta and Lycia, or between the Spartan Lysandros and Lycia, does not exist (see p. 127 on the 'Peloponnesian pirates' Thucydides mentions). But this should not be taken as meaning that there was no such contact. Lycia was important to the Spartans in the Ionian War for exactly the same reason that it was important to the Athenians; control of Lycia gave control of the only sea-route suitable for warships from the eastern Mediterranean to the Aegean.[31] The Athenians were interested because by controlling this route they could exclude Persian naval fleets from intervening in the Peloponnesian War;[32] the Spartans, conversely, would have wanted to ensure the area was friendly to them in order to facilitate the possibility of receiving Persian naval support.[33]

It would therefore be unsurprising if Lysandros had made contacts within Lycia. It is, after all, known that he established ties of *xenia* through much of the eastern Aegean (Diod. 13.70.4; Plut. *Lys.* 5).[34] If Lusñtre got his name through such exchange, it would provide a date of birth for him after Lysandros' arrival as nauarch in 407. Certainly there is nothing to prevent a Lycian Lusñtre who died in the 360s as a mature adult being born in the last decade of the fifth century. Lusñtre seems to have been some sort of relation of another Lycian by the name of Teburssseli,[35] who seems to have been a man of some importance.[36] Such relations, if genuine, are most likely to belong to the period 405/4, when Cyrus the Younger left Lysandros in charge of the cities of Ionia.

Fourth-century Spartan interest in the Lycian region may possibly be indicated by Agesilaos' capture of Kisthene (Isoc. 3.153), if it is correct to

[29] Herman 1987: 19. Cf. Wallace 1970: 197 n. 2.

[30] Herman 1987: 20. For an alternative explanation of the appearance of a Lichas, son of Arkesilaos, in Sparta and Thasos, see Pouilloux, Salviat 1983, rightly criticized by Cartledge 1984: 98-102 and Robert, Robert 1984: 468-70.

[31] Keen 1993a: 71-73.

[32] Keen 1993a: 74-75; 1993b: 155.

[33] Keen 1993b: 157.

[34] See Cartledge 1987: 81.

[35] Teburssseli is *Lusãñtrahñ : zeti* (*TAM* i 103.2); *zeti* is probably a term of relationship (Bryce 1986: 163). Neumann's suggestion (Borchhardt *et al.* 1988: 122) that Teburssseli was Lysandros' son seems unlikely.

[36] For the evidence for this, see p. 163 n. 115.

identify that island with one recorded by Strabo (14.3.7 [666]) as being in the vicinity of Megiste. Leake argues that Κισθήνη is an alternative name for Megiste,[37] and the possibility is entertained by Bryce.[38] However, Leake is probably wrong; Strabo is likely to be referring to two different locations.[39] In any case it is extremely uncertain that this was the Kisthene meant by Isocrates.

Contact with the Greek world in the late Peloponnesian War is further indicated by the consecutive appearance on the Inscribed Pillar (*b*.27) of the Lycian words for 'Ionian', 'Spartan' and 'Athenian': *Ijãnisñ : Sppartazi : Atãna*[*zi*]. These words are all in the accusative singular case,[40] but other than suggesting that the passage still relates to the events of 411, since it lies between the passage dealing with Iasos and that dealing with the negotiations at Kaunos, it is difficult to make anything of this passage; the preceding word, [...]*isñ*, is probably another ethnic, and the Lycian phrase for 'satrap of Lycia' (*χssadrapahi : Trm̃mili*), i.e. presumably Tissaphernes, appears in the previous line, but these do not help much.

This passage might, however, be connected with possible indications in the preceding passage (*b*.1-24) of an internal struggle in Lycia, taken by some scholars as part of an overall picture of conflict in the late fifth and early fourth centuries.[41] To deal with this passage it is necessary to look first at evidence from some twenty or so years later. In 1973 during excavations at the Letoön, an statue base was unearthed on which were four inscriptions, two in Greek and two in Lycian.[42] These inscriptions indicate that the statue was set up as a dedication to Leto by Erbbina.[43] The most complete of these inscriptions is a poem by Symmachos of Pellana (*SEG* 39 1414),[44] and includes the following passage (ll. 4-7):

> [ὃς Λυκίοις ἄρ]ξας, συνέσι δυνάσει τε κ[ράτιστος],
> ἀρ[χῆι] ἐφ' ἡλικίας πέρσας ἐμ μηνὶ τρία ἄσ[τη],

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[37] Leake 1824: 184.

[38] Bryce 1986: 232.

[39] This, however, does depend on accepting Groskurd's insertion of καὶ before ἡ in the ms. Μεγίστη νῆσος καὶ πόλις ὁμώνυμος ἡ Κισθήνη, which otherwise would mean 'the island of Megiste and the *polis* of the same name, also called Kisthene'; in favour of Groskurd's insertion is that it makes better sense of the Greek.

[40] Melchert 1993a: 7, 30, 64.

[41] Robert 1978; Bryce 1986: 109-11; Bousquet 1987: 127.

[42] For the statue base see now Bourgarel, Metzger 1992; Bousquet 1992. The first of the Greek inscriptions was originally published in Bousquet 1975; both have now been published as *CEG* 888, and have also appeared in Bousquet 1992: 155-61 (whose text is reproduced here). The Lycian inscriptions are published in Bousquet 1992: 181-87. Also Metzger 1979b.

[43] Bousquet 1975: 145-46, dates the inscriptions to the beginning of Erbbina's reign. The suggestion of Bousquet 1975: 143, that the monument was a pillar tomb similar to the Inscribed Pillar seems unlikely, if Erbbina's tomb is to be identified with the Nereid Monument; Metzger 1979brightly suggests that this statue was no more than a dedication.

[44] L. 18 identifies it as the work of Symmachus. Now on this inscription: Savalli 1988: 113.

Ξάνθον τε ἠδὲ Πίναρα καὶ εὐλίμενον Τελ[εμεσσὸν],
πολλοῖσιν Λυκίοσι φόβον παρέχων ἐτυρά[ννει].[45]

[(Erbbina) who? ru]led [Lycia?] by intelligence and ability, [was] s[trongest in] pow[er and] in his youth sacked in one month three cit[ies], Xanthos, Pinara and Tel[emessos] of the fine harbour, [and] instilling fear into many Lycians rule[d over them].[46]

The theme is repeated at lines 4-6 of the poem on the narrow side of the statue base (*SEG* 39 1414.23-25).

[οὗτο]ς δ' εἴκοσι μôνον ἔ[τη γεγαὼς ∪ ∪ — —]
[εἰν ἑ]νὶ μηνὶ πόλις[47] τρεῖ[ς — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ἔπερσεν],
[Ξάνθ]ον καὶ Τελεμεσσὸν [∪ — ∪ ∪ ἠδὲ Πίναρα].[48]

[Thi]s man, only twenty y[ears old ... in o]ne month [sacked ...] thre[e] cities, Xanthos, Telemessos [... and Pinara.]

Although these lines are sufficiently fragmentary that a full translation cannot be attempted, they do clearly refer to the same capture of the three cites and provide the further information the Erbbina was only twenty when this action took place. A third relevant passage come from another inscription from the Letoön, from a dedication of Erbbina to Artemis (*SEG* 28 1245.*a*.3):[49]

Ξάνθον καὶ Τελεμ[εσσὸν ...[50] ἠδὲ Πίναρα]

[He sacked?] Xanthos and Telem[essos and Pinara.]

It is therefore clear that Erbbina at some early point in his career had to capture these three cities by force. Yet Erbbina was the son of Kheriga (*SEG* 28 1245.*a*.1; 39 1414.1 [cf. 11]), and since Kheriga was Kuprlli's successor on the Lycian throne, Erbbina ought to have been based at Xanthos initially. Bousquet draws attention to the fact that these three cities are known to have been used as mints by Kherẽi,[51] who is generally accepted to have been Kheriga's successor at Xanthos, largely on the grounds that his coinage chronologically follows that of Kheriga.[52] Bousquet sug-

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45 Text from Bousquet 1992: 156, superseding the text as restored in Bousquet 1975: 143, and reprinted at Bryce 1986: 95, and the later text as printed in *CEG* II, pp. 281, 283.

46 For a French translation see Bousquet 1992: 160.

47 Note the use of *polis* as if it is a simple synonym for *asty*; see Keen, forthcoming [c].

48 Text from Bousquet 1992: 157.

49 Bousquet 1975: 141; 1992: 159. Text now published as *CEG* 889.

50 Restored as [ὁ πέρσας] by Bousquet 1975: 142; 1992: 159, though with the addition of a query mark.

51 Bousquet 1987: 127; cf. Mørkholm, Zahle 1976: 50-52 nos. 36-42 (Xanthos), 43-46 (Pinara) and 51-54 (Telemessos).

52 Mørkholm, Zahle 1976. Zimmermann 1992a: 34-35, however, suggests that the two divided the control of Lycia, with Kheriga controlling the east and Kherẽi the west; given Kheriga's monument in Xanthos (see p. 146 n. 75), this seems unlikely.

gests that Kherẽi usurped Erbbina's rightful throne on the death of Kheriga.[53] It might be plausible that there was not a smooth transfer of power between Kheriga and Kherẽi, since their respective coinages do not share any die-links in the way that Kuprlli's and Kheriga's do; there are also no die-links between Kherẽi and Erbbina.

It is now possible to look again at *TAM* i 44.*b*.1-25. A number of personal names appear: Trbbẽnimi (11), Mithrapata (16), Aruwãtijesi (18) and Kherẽi (23). Mithrapata is unlikely to have been the same man as the later dynast, although he may have been a relation. Aruwãtijesi is known from coinage, and shared a die with Erbbina.[54] He appears on this inscription as *stratt*[ ], surely a borrowing from the Greek στρατηγός.[55] There are also mentions of a number of cities mentioned in one form or another: Kaunos (5), Kyaneai (14),[56] Trysa (15), Tyberissos (15), and the unlocated sites of Khãkbi (7),[57] Kride (10), Wazzis (13)[58] and Nagurahi (14).[59] A word recognisably meaning 'trireme' (*trijerẽ*)[60] appears twice (22, 23); at the first instance the trireme(s) mentioned is perhaps Ionian,[61] whilst at the second it clearly belongs to Kherẽi. These references are then followed by the reference to Ionians, Spartans and Athenians mentioned above (p. 136). Then come further place-names, Xanthos, Pinara, Tlos and the unlocated Wedrẽi (30).[62] Since this last passage appears in the context of passages interpreted by Laroche as relating to burials and the dedication of sanctuaries,[63] these cities may not be mentioned here in the context of war-

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53 Bousquet 1987: 127, suggests that he came to Asia Minor in 411, on a Pellanan trireme which is mentioned as part of a Spartan fleet at Kaunos.

54 Mørkholm, Zahle 1976: 57, 59. Aruwãtijesi recut the die, thus demonstrating that he used it after Erbbina.

55 Cf. Bryce 1986: 135.

56 Kaunos and Kyaneai appear in the forms *Xbihñ* = 'of Kaunos [?]' (Melchert 1993a: 91) and *Xbahñ* = 'of Kyaneai [?]' (Melchert 1993a: 90).

57 *Xãkbi* is usually identified as the central Lycian city of Kandyba (Mørkholm, Zahle 1976: 56; M, pp. 8, 31; Carruba 1996: 26), but all the coins with this inscription that date from after the emergence of the two coin standards are on the light, west-Lycian standard (M 246), whilst Kandyba lies well within the area of central Lycia, where the heavier standard circulated. The scepticism of Laroche 1979: 110 n. 45 and Childs 1981: 58 n. 20 concerning the identification is probably justified.

58 In what appears to be a military context; it is followed immediately by [*te*], for which see p. 149 & nn. 11-12).

59 Suggested as a personal name (with considerable reservation) by Melchert 1989: 98; Prof. Melchert (pers. comm.) now agrees that it is a placename, though it is inadvertently omitted from Melchert 1993a.

60 Neumann 1969: 367.

61 Restoring [.]*jaña* as [*I*]*jaña*; Childs 1981: 64. Neumann 1993: 150 interprets the phrase *trijerẽ kijezẽ* (*TAM* i 44.*b*.22) as 'trireme of Chios'.

62 On Wedrẽi, see pp. 154-55.

63 Laroche 1967: 57; 1974: 147; 1979: 109-10. The term *θurtta-* (for which see p. 213) is mentioned at *b*.28.

fare.[64]

There seems little doubt, however, that the bulk of this passage refers to military activities.[65] The mention of triremes may be connected with an event recorded by Thucydides (8.41.4):

> ... καὶ ἡ φυλακὴ τῷ Χαρμίνῳ περὶ τὴν Σύμην καὶ Χάλκην καὶ Ῥόδον καὶ περὶ τὴν Λυκίαν ἦν· ἤδη γὰρ ᾐσθάνετο καὶ ἐν τῇ Καύνῳ οὔσας αὐτάς.
>
> ... and a guard was set by Charminos around Syme and Chalke and Rhodes and around Lycia since he had already learnt that they [a force of Spartan ships] were in Kaunos.

Charminos clearly had to place patrols at all these locations, in order to cover the possible routes that the Spartan fleet might take on departure from Kaunos,[66] and it may be that his patrols off the Lycian coast clashed with patrolling ships of Kherẽi. It is unlikely, however, that the Athenians could have been responsible, except in the most indirect manner, for the fighting within Lycia itself; the only reasonable explanation for this is that this was a period of civil war in Lycia.

Thus far Bousquet's hypothesis holds up, but his suggestion of strife between Kherẽi and Erbbina is difficult to support. The suggestion that Kherẽi was Erbbina's uncle is unprovable. It was originally made on the assumption that Kherẽi was the owner of the Inscribed Pillar, and that the Kheriga mentioned in the tomb owner's genealogy (*a*.30) was the coin-issuer; since Kheriga was a near-contemporary of Kherẽi and could not be his father (as the tomb owner's father was Arppakhu), brother was the most likely relationship.[67] If it is accepted that Kheriga was the owner of the Pillar (as Bousquet himself does), and that the Kheriga mentioned in the genealogy was his grandfather, there is no pressing reason to accept that Kheriga and Kherẽi were brothers. It may, as Zahle puts it, be "quite in accordance with the chronology arrived at by a study of their coins",[68] but so would a number of other hypotheses (i.e. that they were cousins, or that they had no familial ties at all, but were simply political associates).

Nor is it very likely that Kherẽi usurped power in the way Bousquet suggests. If the conjunction of the two mentions of triremes on the Pillar (*b*.23-24) is to be interpreted as a clash between Ionian ships (i.e. allied contingents in the Athenian fleet) and those of Kherẽi, then Kherẽi is un-

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[64] *Contra* Bryce 1986: 109-10.

[65] So Childs 1981: 64.

[66] That the list represents areas of coastline that the Athenians had to patrol seems preferable to the idea expressed by Gomme, Andrewes, Dover 1981: 88, that Thucydides is merely defining the limits of Charminos' patrol area.

[67] Mørkholm, Zahle 1976: 88.

[68] Mørkholm, Zahle 1972: 88.

likely to have been in revolt against Kheriga in 411, since Kheriga was also an enemy of Athens.[69] Moreover, if the inscription of the Pillar dates to the time of Erbbina's rule in Xanthos (p. 9), the prominent position given to Kherẽi, in particular in actions for which the ultimate responsibility is ascribed to Kheriga, whom Erbbina was keen to honour (cf. *SEG* 39 1414.11), suggests that Kherẽi was never in conflict with Erbbina; for if he had been he would have disappeared from the propagandist view of recent history. Kherẽi seems more likely to have been a dynast at Xanthos of some form, in good standing with the subsequent regime of Erbbina.

Was Kherẽi 'king'? He is never described as such. On the other hand, he did issue coinage, and no-one other than the recognized *χñtawata* is known to have minted at Xanthos. Kherẽi probably was 'king', and may well have been buried in the 'Acropolis Pillar'.[70]

The course and events of the internal struggle must remain a mystery, at least until new evidence appears. This applies also to Robert's attempt to reconstruct Erbbina's campaigns. He suggests that Erbbina's base of operations was Tlos, partly on topographical grounds, but also because it is not mentioned amongst the cities conquered.[71]

For the topographic argument to hold force, the order in which Erbbina's conquests took place would have to be known. In the lists (*SEG* 28 1245.A.3; 39 1414.6, 25) Xanthos is always first, but this may well be simply because it was the most important of his victories; if the restorations of *SEG* 28 1245.A.3 and 39 1414.25 are correct, Erbbina was not consistent in the order in which he placed the other two. If Telemessos was the first city to fall (which is possibly supported by the fact that only at Telemessos is he known to have minted: M 238a),[72] then Bousquet's suggestion that he began from Kaunos[73] is equally if not more plausible.[74]

The argument that since Erbbina did not claim to have captured Tlos it must have already been in his possession carries no force. A series of swift victories at Telemessos, Pinara and Xanthos might soon bring about the peaceful surrender of Tlos, if he did later control it; there is actually no evidence that he did, except possibly the Athena-head coinage issued there (M 243; p. 146).

If the course of events is not clear, the resultant destabilization. The

[69] It should be noted, however, that in Graeco-Persian relations the adage 'my enemy's enemy is my friend' did not always hold true; note the support given in the 390s by Athens, supported by Persia in a war against Sparta, to Euagoras of Cyprus, in revolt against Persia.

[70] Keen 1992a: 60. For the pillar see Demargne 1958: 113-16, pls. 49-51; Bean 1978: 60, fig. 4, pl. 18; Bayburtluoğlu 1980: 68; Deltour-Levie 1982.

[71] Robert 1978: 18, 21. He is now followed by Hornblower 1994: 214.

[72] Mørkholm, Zahle 1976: 56-57.

[73] Bousquet 1975: 145.

[74] Note the bilingual coinage of Erbbina (M 238b), with his name inscribed in both Lycian and Carian; Masson 1974: 127-30; Mørkholm, Zahle 1976: 72.

Xanthian dynasty lost control of eastern Lycia. The process may have begun under Kheriga, who is not known to have issued coinage anywhere further east than Phellos.[75] Kherẽi also minted at Phellos, but only one example is known,[76] his only known coin on the heavy standard. It perhaps belongs to his early rule.

Erbbina is not known to have minted in central and eastern Lycia, and overall his power seems weak.[77] Bryce suggests that the centre of power in his reign moved significantly westwards,[78] since all his coinage is either known to have been minted at Telemessos from the inscriptions (M 238a), or associated with Telemessos through motifs.[79] Since Erbbina seems to have chosen to erect his[80] tomb, the Nereid Monument,[81] at Xanthos, however, and the dedications at the Letoön show the importance he attached to that sanctuary, it seems possible that the coinage record is misleading. Perhaps he only issued coinage in time of war at the beginning of his reign, and by the time he erected the Nereid Monument *c.* 390-380[82] his need for large supplies of coined money had gone.

Alternatively, and perhaps more likely, the coinage from western Lycia, inscribed only with city-names that displays the helmeted head of Athena (M 240-47), dated by Mørkholm to the fourth century,[83] may perhaps be coinage of Erbbina. It has already been suggested that on this coinage the head of Athena was acting as a badge in place of the issuer's name (p. 54), and since the Athena motif was first used by Kheriga[84] and subsequently by Kherẽi,[85] Erbbina would seem a likely candidate, especially as his identifiable coinage is also of this type.[86] Bryce places these coins in the period of

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[75] Mørkholm, Zahle 1976: 47-48 nos. 2-16. Mørkholm, Zahle 1976 suggest (59) that Kheriga's centre of power was at Phellos, since the majority of his coinage comes from that mint. Given his connections with the Inscribed Pillar and the Letoön, however, it seems likely that Xanthos was his power-base, though as noted above (see p. 117) the family may have had strong ties in the Phellos region.

[76] Mørkholm, Zahle 1976: 48 no. 17.

[77] Robert 1978: 3-48; Bryce 1986: 109-11; Bousquet 1987: 127.

[78] Bryce 1986: 110; a similar view is held by Zimmermann 1992a: 24..

[79] Mørkholm, Zahle 1976: 56-57, who also (59) associate Aruwãtijesi and Ddenewele with this mint, since they shared dies with Erbbina.

[80] For the identification see Demargne 1975: 150; 1976: 81 n. 4; Childs 1978: 71, 72; Demargne 1979: 99 no. 16; 1981: 586; 1987: 190; Childs, Demargne 1989: 404; Demargne 1990: 69; Stewart 1990: 171; Keen 1992a: 59.

[81] Coupel, Demargne 1969; Childs, Demargne 1989; Önen 1990: 38 pl. 43. For a full bibliography see now Barringer 1995: 233-34 no. 385.

[82] Childs 1973b; Childs, Demargne 1989: 395-404. The monument has in the past been generally dated to *c.* 400, but Childs and Demargne believe a date before 390 to be impossible. For a complete list of references for the date, see Barringer 1995: 59 n. 5.

[83] Mørkholm 1964: 72.

[84] Mørkholm, Zahle 1976: 48-50 nos. 22-32.

[85] Mørkholm, Zahle 1976: 50-52 nos. 33-68.

[86] Mørkholm, Zahle 1976: 52-54 nos. 69-75.

Carian domination of Lycia;[87] but since the objective of the Carian rulers seems to have been to eliminate Lycian nationalism, allowing coinage seems unlikely.

If my interpretation is correct, then this coinage indicates of some of the cities in which Erbbina had authority. It was issued at Xanthos (M 240), Patara (M 241), Pinara (M 242), Tlos (M 243), Telemessos (M 244), Kadyanda (M 245), Khãkbi (M 246) and Araxa (M 247), and so one sees again a concentration of Erbbina's power on the Xanthos valley. That the coins carried a placename but no persoanl name may have been an attempt to make the most propaganda of what control he did have.

Erbbina seems to have needed to present more grandiose monuments to his power, possibly because it was quite weak; hence his dedications at the Letoön, and addition of an inscription to his father's tomb (if he was responsible; p. 9). Erbbina's tomb, unlike those of his predecessors, was not a pillar but a heroön which, although it borrowed some of its styling from Greek temples, was a direct descendant of the Sarpedoneion.[88] This was placed on the hill overlooking the main entrance to Xanthos, so that it not only dominated the approach of visitors to the city, but could be seen across the valley. This symbol of power was an act of propaganda intended to cover weakness in the 'royal' rule. Perhaps Erbbina wished to ascribe to himself heroic qualities comparable to those of Sarpedon.[89]

Six other dynasts (Aruwãtijesi, Ddenewele, Ddeñtimi, Hñtrma, the elder Mithrapata and the younger Wekhssere)[90] are associated with Kherẽi and Erbbina.[91] They minted in a number of cities across Lycia. Only Aruwãtijesi (M 137) and Wekhssere minted on the eastern standard; Aruwãtijesi's eastern coins may belong to his early years. Mithrapata, who minted at Tymnessos,[92] may have been from an Iranian family, if he is connected with the later Mithrapata (pp. 152-54). He may also be related to the Mitrobates who appears in Xenophon (*Hell.* 1.3.12), perhaps by marriage.[93]

It seems clear then that by the end of Erbbina's rule, for all the grandiose monuments and dedications, the power of Xanthos no longer extended into central and eastern Lycia. Erbbina still considered himself a 'king' (p. 47). Other claimants to the throne of Lycia were soon to arise in the east.

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87 Bryce 1986: 51.

88 See Keen 1996a: 235-36.

89 Keen 1992a: 59; 1996a: 236. Robertson 1975: 403 suggested that the Nereid Monument may have been used as a hero-cult site, which seems likely given the practice of leaving offerings to the dead (p. 210).

90 Mørkholm, Zahle 1976: 57 for Aruwãtijesi; 56 for Ddenewele.

91 For the dynasty see Bousquet 1992: 172-74.

92 Zahle 1988: 98 fig. 3.

93 König 1936: 64-65, believes that Xenophon's Mitrobates had been given command in Lycia, and was related to the later coin-issuing dynast; see also Sekunda 1991: 101.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

PERIKLE OF LIMYRA

Arttumpara and Mithrapata

Lycian history comes back into focus in the decade 370-360, in the person of the Lycian king Perikle of Limyra,[1] whose name in Greek was rendered 'Perikles'. The evidence for Perikle's opponent, who appears in Lycian sources as Arttum̃para, is almost entirely epigraphic or numismatic (*TAM* i 11.3; 29.7; 40.*c*.2-3; 104.*b*.3; M 231, 302). Mørkholm has argued for a dating for Arttum̃para's coinage of *c.* 380-360, rather than that of Hill, *c.* 400-390.[2] Jenkins[3] disassociates the coin-issuer from the man attested epigraphically on the grounds of the absence of Arttum̃para's coins from the Podalia hoard, which seems to have been buried *c.* 375-370.[4] That hoard, however, was buried in eastern Lycia, and consisted entirely of coins of the heavy east-Lycian standard. Arttum̃para minted exclusively on the light west-Lycian standard, and his coins would not have circulated in eastern Lycia. The absence of his coins is therefore not surprising, and Jenkins' conclusion need not be followed.

Nor should one follow Metzger's assumption that, because of the appearance of Alexander in an inscription from Tlos (*TAM* i 29.9), the mention of Arttum̃para in the same text (l. 7) refers to a different man to the coin-issuer, living some decades later.[5] Weiskopf counters this by the reasonable suggestion that it is possible that Ikuwe, the owner of the tomb on which the inscription is carved (p. 150), had lived through the rule of both Arttum̃para and Alexander, and Mørkholm had already used this idea as part of the evidence for his case for a later date for Arttum̃para.[6] In point of fact the reference to Arttum̃para in *TAM* i 29 is imperfectly understood; it may not indicate any connection between him and Ikuwe, though on the whole it probably is likely that they were contemporaries.

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[1] For a slightly different view of Perikles, see Bryce 1980a.

[2] Mørkholm 1964: 73-74; Hill 1897: 25.

[3] Jenkins 1959: 35 n. 1.

[4] Olçay, Mørkholm 1971: 7-13, 29. Zahle 1989: 174, 176, is in favour of a date slightly before *c.* 375 (perhaps as early as *c.* 380), but this is probably too early for a connection with Perikle's fighting against Persia (p. 167).

[5] Metzger 1979a: 35.

[6] Weiskopf 1982: 289 n. 140; Mørkholm 1964: 74.

One of the most important pieces of evidence is an inscription from Limyra (*TAM* i 104.*b*.2-3), which reads:

ẽke : ese : Perikle : tebete : Arttum̃para

This can been translated as 'when Perikle besieged Arttum̃para'. The inscription demonstrates that Arttum̃para was Perikle's opponent, but it does not reveal any particularly significant information concerning the origins of Arttum̃para. For that, it is necessary to return to the Tlos inscription, where appears the phrase *Arttum̃para : medese :* (*TAM* i 29.7). The usual interpretation is to view *medese* as an ethnic, meaning 'Arttum̃para the Mede', giving rise to the idea that Arttum̃para was of Iranian stock.[7] Weiskopf on the other hand believes it "safe to say that like Pericles Artumpara was an indigenous Lycian"; he rejects the standard interpretation on the following grounds:

1. Metzger attacks the standard word-division; he prefers to render the phrase *Arttum̃para : Mede se*.[8]

2. Bernard views Arttum̃para (according to Weiskopf) as a Lycian with an Iranian name.[9]

Metzger's word-division does not, however, necessarily alter the meaning of the text. *Se* is Lycian for 'and',[10] so Metzger's word-division would provide the translation 'Arttum̃para *mede* and'. As far as Bernard is concerned, he is in fact using the presence of the name Arttum̃para as evidence for his belief in Iranian settlement in Lycia. It has already been noted (pp. 62-63) that the number of indigenous Lycians who can definitely be said to have Iranian names is small.

Bryce suggests that *medese* may not be an adjective at all. Since 'Mede' is attested as an independent personal name in *TAM* i 37.3-4, and also recurs without Arttum̃para in *TAM* i 29.11, he suggests, accepting Metzger's word division, that *mede* is a personal name in its own right, and that this phrase means 'Arttum̃para and Mede', though he admits that there is no other clear evidence for the enclitic use of *-se* in Lycian.[11] Melchert suggests that presence of the word-divider (:) after *se* indicates that it is to be taken with *mede*, but that it is linking *Arttum̃para : mede*

[7] Babelon 1893: cvi; Benveniste 1966: 101; Borchhardt 1976: 100-02; Schmitt 1982b: 375-76. 'Mede' was used as a synonym (or often substitute) for 'Persian' in Greece, Egypt, Judah and elsewhere in the Near East (Cook 1983: 43; Tuplin 1994).

[8] Metzger 1979a: 35 n. 24.

[9] Weiskopf 1982: 289 & n. 140; Metzger 1979a: 35 n. 24; Bernard 1964: 209.

[10] Melchert 1993a: 61.

[11] Bryce 1986: 161 n. 79. It is possible that *-se* is enclitic at *TAM* i 29.2. For the personal name *Mede*, see p. 62.

with *Xeχχebẽñti*, the previous word.[12] This strongly suggests that *mede* is being used as a epithet of Arttum̃para. Its subsequent appearance in the document then is as an epithet referring to Arttum̃para; this epithet is most likely to mean 'Mede', and the use of it as a personal name probably originated in its use as a descriptive nick-name.[13]

So from the inscriptional evidence it seems not unlikely that an Iranian origin can be attributed to Arttum̃para. Further evidence is to be found in the coinage record. Borchhardt interprets the appearance of a Persian *bashlik* (tiara) on some of his coinage[14] as support for the idea that he was a 'persischen Unterstatthalter',[15] but the wearing of the *bashlik* is, in and of itself, no proof of Iranian ethnicity, as it was also used by Kherẽi, among others (p. 138). More important is the coin minted by Arttum̃para on the Persian standard at Side in Pamphylia.[16] It is possible that a Lycian dynast would be allowed to mint coins outside his area of rule, but it is far more likely that a Persian officer displaced from his area of command would be allowed to mint elsewhere, in order to fund his reinstatement (as more fully argued at p. 162).

The circumstantial evidence is then largely in favour of the proposition that Arttum̃para was a Persian. His name was perhaps **Rtambura* in Persian, or 'Αρτεμβάρης in Greek.[17]

What was he doing in Lycia? It is first necessary to establish the extent of his influence within Lycia. Of the three inscriptions that mention his name, one comes from Pinara (*TAM* i 11), one from Tlos (*TAM* i 29) and one from Limyra (*TAM* i 104). The example from Limyra, however, is the inscription describing his defeat by Perikle, and so is no evidence for Arttum̃para's rule there.

Nor is the inscription from Tlos very helpful. This appears to be an account of a military victory of the tomb owner, Ikuwe, over a place called Wazzis,[18] and the subsequent levying of taxes from this location.[19] In the course of this account another levying of taxes is mentioned, carried out in

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[12] Melchert (pers. comm.). Previously (1989: 55; 1993a: 62) he suggested that it was being used in a clause-initial position.

[13] Baslez 1987: 147.

[14] Hill 1897: Lycia no. 10; Babelon 1910: 287 no. 389.

[15] Borchhardt 1976: 101.

[16] On this coin: Atlan 1958.

[17] Six 1887: 63; Schmitt 1982a: 18-19 nos. 4-6; 1982b: 375.

[18] Melchert has suggested that *Wazzisñ* in *TAM* i 29.5 derives from a stem *Wazzise-*, which he interprets as an ethnicon (1989: 79; 1993a: 86), but now accepts *Wazzise-* as a place-name; from the contexts at *TAM* i 29.5 and 6 and 104.*b*.3 this seems more likely. Melchert (pers. comm.) has pointed out that another example of what should be an ethnicon ending in *-is(e)-* functioning as a place-name is *Trm̃mis*, 'Lycia'.

[19] Prof. Melchert informs me that the Lycian stem *erije-* means 'lift' or 'raise' (in this case *hlm̃mi-*, 'taxes' or 'tribute': Gusmani 1975: 65; Melchert 1993a: 26; cf. Laroche 1979: 72 *ad* N 320.*a*.25).

the same location by Arttum̃para and an otherwise unknown figure by the name of Khekhkhebẽñti. The location of Wazzis (which also appears on the Inscribed Pillar; *TAM* i 44.*b*.13) is most unclear, but it seems safe to say that it was not at Tlos, the Lycian name of which was Tlawa.[20]

Trm̃misñ : χñtewete ter[ñ?] Arttum̃para in the Pinara inscription (ll. 2-3), however, can be translated as 'when Arttum̃para ruled over Lycia',[21] and this implies that his rule was acknowledged in at least that particular city; further, it implies that Arttum̃para styled himself 'king of Lycia'. According to Treuber another inscription identifies Arttum̃para as ruler ('Kindafata' = *χñtawata*) of Telemessos.[22] Unless the inscription has been lost, this is presumably a reference to *TAM* i 11.3, translating *talahhãti* as Telemessos; Melchert, however, construes this as *=t(e)=alah<h>ãti*,[23] a particle plus the third person plural present of the verb meaning 'to bury'[24] or 'arrange'[25] (in a funerary sense). It is therefore not useful evidence for Arttum̃para's sphere of control.[26]

Only recently has any of Arttum̃para's coinage been known that carries the name of a mint; it is now confirmed that he minted at Telemessos, which had already been suggested as a possibility, along with Kadyanda, Tlos and Pinara.[27] It is certainly the case that all of Arttum̃para's surviving coinage is on the lighter west Lycian standard.[28]

It seems then that Arttum̃para's rule was confined to western Lycia, and indeed paralleled closely the areas where Erbbina had ruled. A working hypothesis might be that Arttum̃para was sent by Autophradates, the satrap at Sardis, to take over the areas controlled by the Xanthian dynasty on the death of Erbbina;[29] although there is no clear evidence, it seems likely that he based his rule upon Xanthos. So in a way he was the 'last of the Harp-

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20 Melchert 1993a: 76.

21 Metzger 1979a: 35.

22 Treuber 1887: 104 n. 2. See pp. 46-49 on *χñtawata*.

23 Melchert 1993a: 4, 68.

24 Meriggi 1963: 11.

25 Bryce 1986: 81.

26 This is presumably also the inscription Homblower 1982: 181 cites as evidence for a Telemessian 'hyparch' serving under Arttum̃para, though he gives as a reference *TAM* i 67, an inscription that mentions Perikle, not Arttum̃para.

27 Telemessos: Zahle in *GHHIL*, 173 no. 67; Kadyanda, Tlos and Pinara: Atlan 1958: 91.

28 Borchhardt 1976: 101.

29 A suggestion made by Bryce 1986: 162; 1990: 536, despite his doubts about *medese*. Cf. Childs 1981: 76. For Arttum̃para as vassal of Autophradates: Houwink ten Cate 1961: 10 n. 1. The suggestion of Childs 1981: 76, that Lycia was attached to a satrapy of Ionia created in 391 is a misunderstanding of the Persian administration in western Anatolia. The only evidence for a 'satrap of Ionia' is *Syll.*^{3} 134.42-43, but it is clear from Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.15 that the satrap named, Strouthas, had overall authority in the west between 392 and his recall in 388; a separate satrapy of Ionia probably did not exist. Autophradates is named as satrap of Lydia by Theopompus (F 103.4) in a context which suggests a date of *c.* 390, but it seems likely that, at least at the time of his initial appointment, he was under the authority of Strouthas.

agids', as Babelon suggests,[30] although only in the sense of being "the last of the pro-Persian rulers in the west";[31] it is highly unlikely that he was related to the Lycians of the Xanthian dynasty, although he may possibly have been an Iranian resident in Lycia (cf. Mithrapata). The reason for his appointment is presumably that the satrap at Sardis felt that the warfare of the Xanthian dynasts had destabilized the area, and it was necessary to control Lycia rather more closely from now on.

In the east of the country, however, another dynast with an Iranian name is known; Mithrapata (sometimes Mizzrppata), whose name if rendered into Greek might have been *Mithrapates*. He is known mainly from coinage evidence (M 138-39; there are some inscriptions: *TAM* i 64.2; N 315.2) and the presence of a number of his coins in the Podalia hoard shows that he was contemporary or near-contemporary with Perikle.[32] Whilst Arttum̃para minted entirely on the light west Lycian standard, Mithrapata, however, appears to have minted entirely on the heavier east Lycian standard, although the location of none of his mints is known.[33] Jenkins suggests that the mint for Mithrapata's portrait coins was Antiphellos, and that for his coins of the lion scalp/triskeles type was Xanthos.[34] Xanthos is impossible, since Mithrapata minted only on the east Lycian coin standard;[35] Antiphellos (or rather Phellos) is plausible. Mørkholm suggests Antiphellos as the mint for all the lion scalp/triskeles coins of all dynasts of the early fourth century,[36] but this is also impossible, since some coins of this type clearly originated in Limyra, as they carry upon them the legend, *Zẽmure*.[37]

The inscriptions bearing Mithrapata's name are from Isinda (*TAM* i 64) and Seroiata (N 310).[38] Both of these carry the *ẽnẽ* ... *χñtawata* formula, thus bearing out the central and eastern Lycian base of his rule that the weight standard of his coins implies, and also implying that he too, like Arttum̃para, claimed the title 'king'.

The appearance of two dynasts with definitely Iranian names[39] in Lycia at approximately the same time, yet both operating in different parts of the

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[30] Babelon 1893: cvi.

[31] Bryce 1986: 111.

[32] Olçay, Mørkholm 1971: 4-7.

[33] Olçay, Mørkholm 1971: 26-27.

[34] Jenkins 1959: 40. Hill 1897: xliii-xliv, placed him in Tlos, which seems unlikely give that he issued no coins on the west-Lycian standard.

[35] Childs 1981: 76 n. 131, suggests that three coins of the lion scalp obverse type struck at Xanthos (Babelon 1910: nos. 501-03) might be Mithrapata's western issue, but this does not seem very likely.

[36] Mørkholm 1964: 75.

[37] Olçay, Mørkholm 1971: 11-12.

[38] For Seroiata, modern Seyretköyü/Gökçeören, see Robert 1955: 202.

[39] Mithrapata's name: Schmitt 1982a: 23-24 nos. 17-18; 1982b: 381-82.

country which were clearly defined by the different coinage standards as separate units does not seem likely to be a coincidence. If, as suggested, Arttum̃para was a Persian officer appointed by Autophradates, it seems more than likely that Mithrapata was as well.[40] It seems likely that both men reported individually to Autophradates; probably the division within Lycia between the area controlled by Xanthos and the rest of the country (which had for all practical purposes reappeared in the declining years of the Xanthian dynasty) was now granted official recognition by Persia, to the extent of the establishment of two 'kingdoms' of Lycia.[41] It also appears that wide-ranging rights of minting coinage in both western and eastern Lycia were no longer as common as they had been in the previous century. Of the dynasts represented in the Podalia hoard, who are presumably contemporary with Mithrapata, Trbbẽnimi and Perikle,[42] only two, Aruwãtijesi and the younger Wekhssere, are known to have minted on both standards.[43]

Although this Mithrapata is unlikely to have been the same man as the Mithrapata who appears on the Inscribed Pillar (*TAM* i 44.*b*.16) and had minted coins at Tymnessos,[44] he may be the son of the earlier man (cf. the two Trbbẽnimis; p. 154). Even if their exact relationship cannot be proved, it seems likely, given the association of both men with Lycia, that here is one of the few cases where it can safely be shown that an Iranian family had settled in Lycia. If Mithrapata had been recruited from Persians living in Lycia, this makes it more likely that Arttum̃para was similarly a resident. It must, however, be emphasized that this in no way demonstrates any significant Iranian settlement in Lycia.

There is one striking difference between the two rulers. Arttum̃para sometimes imitated his immediate predecessors by carrying on his coins the typical Persian *bashlik*-clad head of the last Lycian rulers of Xanthos, but Mithrapata was almost always shown as a bearded man of Greek appearance, without the *bashlik*.[45] Arttum̃para's portraits were all in conscious imitation of those used by earlier rulers at Xanthos, but the motives of Mithrapata, who admittedly had no dynasty to follow on from, in having

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[40] Childs 1981: 76; Bryce 1986: 162. Zimmermann 1992a: 34 accepts a link with the Persian authorities.

[41] Childs 1981: 76; cf, Zimmermann 1992a: 35.

[42] Zimmermann 1992a: 40.

[43] Olçay, Mørkholm 1971: 27 suggest that these two dynasts may be slightly earlier than the others represented in the hoard.

[44] Though Zimmermann 1992a: 40 n. 99 writes as if he is.

[45] Arttum̃para: Hill 1897: Lycia no. 111. At times, however, he was depicted wearing a Corinthian helmet (*SNG von Aulock* 4184) or as Herakles (Zahle in *GHHIL*, 173 no. 67). Both of these latter motifs also imitate the iconography of the later Xanthian dynasts (Zahle 1988: 98 pl. 2; Mørkholm, Zahle 1976: 52 no. 53, for the respective forms). Mithrapata: Schwabacher 1968: 117-21.

himself depicted in such a fashion are unclear. Perhaps he wished to distinguish his coins from those of Arttum̃para, or perhaps Perikle's famous full-face portrait coins had already begun, and Mithrapata was imitating those.

Perikle's rise to power

Before looking in detail at the career of Perikle, it is necessary to examine that of his associate Trbbẽnimi. He must, as Bryce has noted, be distinguished from the Trbbẽnimi who appears on the Inscribed Pillar (*TAM* i 44.*a*.44, *b*.11).[46] Coinage inscribed with the name Trbbẽnimi forms a substantial portion of the Podalia hoard (*c*. 375-370). Even if this was towards the end of his career, as in fact seems likely, then for him to have commanded an army in *c*. 430 he would have to have been well into his seventies at the very least by the time of his death. On the whole this seems unlikely (although, as will be argued, Perikle himself lived at least into his sixties), and it is better to make a distinction between the two Trbbẽnimis.

The younger Trbbẽnimi's rule seems to have been based largely around Limyra. Inscriptional evidence supports this view, for apart from the Inscribed Pillar the name is found only on two inscriptions from Limyra. One of these can be safely attributed to the younger dynast on stylistic grounds.[47] The other is uncertain, but since most of the datable inscriptions in Lycian belong to the early fourth century,[48] it is more likely to belong to the younger.

The picture presented by his coinage concurs. Only two mints are known where coins were struck by Trbbẽnimi. One is at Limyra, and the other is at a site by the name of Wedrẽi,[49] whose precise location cannot be established. The adjective *wedrẽñni* is often translated as 'regional', 'municipal', or 'national'.[50] It probably derives from the Lycian word *wedri*, which, it has been suggested, means 'city', though this interpretation is somewhat dubious.[51] All this leads Olçay and Mørkholm to suggest that Wedrẽi was a place that styled itself 'the City'.[52] Doubt has been cast on this idea; but the link with the cult of Athena Polias that flourished in eastern Lycia (p. 203) does suggest that *wedrẽñni* was the Lycian equivalent of the Greek Πολιάς, and probably had a wider sense of 'to do with the state'.

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[46] Bryce 1986: 47. Zimmermann 1992a: 41 assumes the two men are the same, and deduces from that a date of death *c*. 390-380.

[47] Zahle 1979: 315, 343 no. 59.

[48] Bryce 1986: 46-49.

[49] Olçay, Mørkholm 1971: 11-12; Mørkholm 1964: 75, takes *Wedrẽi* as a personal name.

[50] Deeters 1927: 2286; Bryce 1981: 83; Bryce 1986: 132 n. 35; Melchert 1993a: 87.

[51] Melchert 1993a: 87. See now Carruba 1993: 14.

[52] Olçay, Mørkholm 1971: 13; cf. Carruba 1993: 14; Melchert 1993a: 87.

Hence Wedrẽi may well have been a place that in Greek would have been called Πολις.[53]

It is quite possible that Trbbẽnimi took advantage of the weakness of the Xanthian dynasts (pp. 146-47) to strengthen his position in eastern Lycia. One interesting aspect to his minting is that some of his coins appear to have been minted on the light west-Lycian standard,[54] although there is no evidence for him actually having any influence in western Lycia. This may suggest that he was minting coinage for use in western Lycia, perhaps planning to extend his influence into the Xanthos valley.

The inscriptions reveal little about Trbbẽnimi. Both inscriptions that mention his name are funerary inscriptions of people who claim to be *tideri* of Trbbẽnimi, but both names are obliterated, and the meaning of *tideri* is unclear.[55] Trbbẽnimi probably died sometime *c.* 375, or perhaps slightly earlier, since it is unlikely that Perikle would have begun building his Heroön at Limyra, which he must have done before his break with Persia *c.* 370 (p. 167), whilst his predecessor was still alive.

Perikle's seat of power is generally believed to have been Limyra, and probably correctly so,[56] though the term 'Perikle of Limyra' is a modern coinage. It has been suggested that the name might be an assumed one, in imitation of the great Athenian leader.[57] This seems unlikely. Bryce has noted that the assumption of such a name would quite likely be an indication that the leader was westward- rather than eastward-looking for inspiration,[58] yet Perikle was not always of this inclination. If the Heroön at Limyra is correctly identified as his tomb, then the orientalizing motifs point to there having been a time in Perikle's career when he was more pro-Persian than pro-Greek, and so if he adopted his name in the latter phase, he must originally have been a dynast under a different name, in which case it might be possible to find this name in the coinage record. The obvious candidate for Perikle's previous name must be Trbbẽnimi, whose coins are die-linked with those of Perikle.[59] However, the die which links the series of Trbbẽnimi and Perikle is known to have been used in two distinct stages of wear, both of which were used by both dynasts. In

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[53] However, in the Letoön Trilingual (N 320.14) the equivalent of πολις is *teteri*; see Laroche 1979: 66-67.

[54] Olçay, Mørkholm 1971: 23-25. There is one light coin of Perikle, presumably (Olçay, Mørkholm 1971: 24) minted at about the same time.

[55] What survives of the names is [.......]*h* (genitive; the genitive of Perikle's name, *Perikleh* [*TAM* i 133.1], would fit) in *TAM* i 128.1, and *Ab*[.*ñn*.] in *TAM* i 135.1. For the suggested meaning 'step-son' for *tideri*: Gusmani 1962: 180-81.

[56] Borchhardt 1990e; 1993: 37-43.

[57] Bryce 1980a: 379 n. 23. Hornblower 1996b says: "His name suggests imitation of Athenian culture".

[58] Bryce 1980a: 379.

[59] Olçay, Mørkholm 1971: 10.

other words, coinage under the name of Trbbẽnimi continued to be issued even after the issuing of coinage under Perikle's name had begun.

If Perikle is the name he was born with, then one is able to say more about the circumstances of Perikle's birth than one can about many Lycians. For the child to receive such a name suggests strongly that his parents had close ties with Athens, perhaps even with the family of the Athenian Perikles himself; they were perhaps *proxenoi* of the Athenians (cf. Lusñtre, pp. 139-40).

Furthermore, it is perhaps possible to give the Lycian Perikle's date of birth with greater accuracy than is usual with Lycian rulers. It seems reasonably safe to assert that he cannot have been born later than 430, for it seems highly unlikely that he would have been named as he was after Athens, under the leadership of his namesake, had invaded Lycia (particularly if the Trbbẽnimi who defeated Melesandros was ruler of Limyra);[60] on the other hand, since Perikle's career almost certainly lasted into the 360s (p. 169), a date of birth much earlier than 435 also seems unlikely.

The connection with Trbbẽnimi is still important.[61] Since they were both minting coinage at the same time, and more than likely both doing so in Limyra,[62] it seems possible that both were members of a dynastic house that had strong links to the city; certainly, if the Athenians were going to cultivate relations with any family in Limyra, that of the most important individual in the area (i.e. the elder Trbbẽnimi; p. 132) would be the obvious choice. The evidence for the internal situation in Limyra is unclear, and it is possible that Perikle and Trbbẽnimi came from rival leading families; but if Limyra followed the pattern that appears in Xanthos control would have been concentrated in the hands of one family. Where there is evidence for co-operation at Xanthos between the ruling family and another family, between Kuprlli and Arppakhu, the lesser family had no coinage-minting rights until a member (in this case Kheriga) was born to a marriage contracted with the ruling family.

Perhaps, as has been suggested for Kheriga and Kherẽi, Perikle and Trbbẽnimi were brothers (Perikle is certainly too old to have been the son of the younger Trbbẽnimi); alternatively, Perikle may have married into the dynastic house. The clear prominence of Perikle's own family that is implied by the relations with Athens suggested by his name makes the former possibility the more likely, in which case they were probably both sons of the elder Trbbẽnimi, who defeated Melesandros. The younger Trbbẽnimi,

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[60] Although the outbreak of war between two states did not necessarily negate the bonds of *xenia* between individuals belonging to those states; Herman 1987: 130-56.

[61] Bryce 1986: 47 suggests that Trbbẽnimi minted "perhaps in partnership with or as the subordinate of Perikle"; the latter seems unlikely.

[62] P. 157; Olçay, Mørkholm 1971: 26.

the coin-issuer, by virtue both of his coinage starting and ending first and of his bearing his father's name, was no doubt the eldest.

If the younger Trbbẽnimi had begun taking advantage of the power vacuum in the Xanthos valley (p. 155), it seems quite plausible that his successor Perikle planned to continue the process, and perhaps even to bring western Lycia under his domination. Certainly inscriptional and coinage evidence attests his influence in the east. His name is mentioned on seven inscriptions. Four (*TAM* i 103; 104;[63] 132; 133) are from Limyra, two of them carrying the *ẽnẽ* ... *χñtawata* formula (103.3; 132.1-2). The other three come from Teimioussa on the central Lycian coast (*TAM* i 67), Arneai in north central Lycia (*TAM* i 83), and Kızılca, in southern Milyas (N 314); all three carry the *ẽnẽ* ... *χñtawata* formula, attesting Perikle's control in those locations, and also that he claimed the kingship.

Three mints are named on Perikle's coinage, attesting his control at those locations; one is Wehñte, the Lycian name for Phellos;[64] one is Zagaba;[65] and the third is Wediwiẽ, another unknown location.[66] Olçay and Mørkholm ascribe all of Perikle's portrait staters to one mint, and so ascribe all of Perikle's coinage in the Podalia hoard to Phellos/Antiphellos except that die-linked with the issues of Trbbẽnimi.[67] Given the strong indications that Perikle's rule was based on Limyra, however, it is perhaps safer to ascribe the bulk of Perikle's coinage to Limyra, only ascribing to Phellos those coins specifically inscribed with the name of the city or those die-linked with such coins; coinage inscribed with Perikle's name would automatically be assumed to have been minted at Limyra, unless it clearly stated otherwise.

It is clear then that Perikle was an important ruler in the east of Lycia, and from his later actions it appears that he had ambitions in the west. One should not, however, accept the idea suggested by Bryce that "the Lycian leader saw himself as a latter-day Pericles [of Athens], inspired with the vision of a free, independent Lycia united against Persian despotism".[68] Leaving aside the fact that the Athenian Perikles was hardly the epitome of

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[63] Neumann in Borchhardt *et al.* 1988: 121-22 translates *TAM* i 103 and 104. However, I disagree with his translations in several important details.

[64] Wehñte is in some works (e.g. Mørkholm 1964: 75; Olçay, Mørkholm 1971: 4) identified as Antiphellos. The identification with Phellos was first made by Tritsch, Dönmez 1953, followed by Bean 1958a. It seems unlikely that Antiphellos was at this period a polity separate from Phellos; Bean 1978: 93; Bryce 1981: 86.

[65] Vismara 1989b: no. 218.

[66] Olçay, Mørkholm 1971: 13, note Wediwiẽ as "presumably a dynast's name", but there is no reason why it should be the name of a dynast minting in co-operation with Perikle rather than the more common reason for two names being on the same coin, a coin-issuer indicating his place of minting. *Wediwiẽ* is possibly related to *Wedrẽi-*; Melchert 1993a: 87.

[67] Olçay, Mørkholm 1971: 26-27; Bryce 1980a: 380.

[68] Bryce 1980a: 379 & n. 23.

anti-Persian policy,[69] this romantic view is belied by the Heroön at Limyra, identified as Perikle's tomb by Borchhardt.[70] The identification has not seriously been questioned, and given the date of the tomb *c.* 370-360[71] it is difficult to see to whom else the tomb could belong.

This tomb is undoubtedly an important piece of evidence for Perikle's early policy; for despite the obvious Greek influence on the Heroön[72] much of the iconography is Iranizing to the extent of expressing support for the Achaemenid regime. The frieze on each side depicts a procession of figures, many wearing oriental clothing and head-gear,[73] including one wearing the satrapal *bashlik*.[74] As Borchhardt has noted,[75] the motifs of this frieze are clearly Persizing, reminiscent of literary descriptions of Achaemenid parades (e.g. Xen. *Cyr.* 8.1).

Nor should the figure of Perseus on the north acroterion[76] be interpreted, as some have attempted, as reminding the Persian King that he too was once ruled by a Greek,[77] a gesture that one might think almost suicidally tactless. As Borchhardt has recognized, this is not Perseus the Greek who ruled Persia, but Perseus the Assyrian who became the first Greek[78]—an easterner leading the west rather than a westerner leading the east. In other words, the implication is that, just as Perikle himself was claiming to be the heir of Bellerophon (see below), so he was implying that the Persian King was the heir of Perseus and therefore had a right to claim dominion over both Persia and the Greek world.

Nothing in the iconography of the Heroön was a challenge to the authority of the Persian King. It was, however, a direct challenge to the authority of the rulers of Xanthos. By building for himself a tomb of a similar size and style to the Nereid Monument, Perikle was claiming to be a ruler of the same level of authority, i.e. he was denying that the rulers of Xanthos were in any way superior to him, and had any authority over Li-

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69 A good starting point for the Athenian Perikles' attitude to Persia may be found in Badian 1993: 14-15, 17, 20-21, 25, 36-39, 48, 54, 56-57, 72.

70 Borchhardt 1970: 362-72; 1976: 99; 1990c: 75-76; 1993: 45-51. In the nineteenth century it was thought that the Nereid Monument was Perikle's tomb; Urlichs 1861; Michaelis 1875: 173-74.

71 Borchhardt 1976: 43-46, 80, 92-93, 97.

72 Borchhardt 1970: 362-72; 1976: 109; 1987a. Borchhardt 1990c: 76 draws comparisons with the Erechtheion at Athens.

73 Borchhardt 1976: 49-79.

74 Borchhardt 1976: 53 no. 22. The suggestion that this figure represents Artaxerxes III (Borchhardt 1990c: 77; Dinstl in *GHHIL*, 169 no. 57) is not altogether convincing.

75 Borchhardt 1976: 121-23; 1993: 49-50.

76 Borchhardt 1976: 81-86.

77 Haynes 1974: 112; Özgen, Özgen 1992: 53.

78 Borchhardt 1976: 123. Greek version: Hdt. 7.61 (cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 79-80; Xen. *Cyr.* 1.2.1); Persian: Hdt. 6.54. Tuplin 1996: 50 notes for possible comparison the depiction of Perseus on the Golgoi Sarcophagus from Cyprus (Myres 1914: 1292).

myra, as they had in the fifth century. This was emphasized by the depiction of Bellerophon on the more prominent south acroterion of the Heroön;[79] Perikle was clearly claiming to be the heir of Bellerophon,[80] and hence rightful ruler of all Lycia.[81] Since it has already been suggested that Erbbina was probably succeeded by a Persian official (p. 151), the anti-Xanthian yet pro-Persian character of Perikle's Heroön suggests that Erbbina was still alive when construction of the Limyran monument began.

The construction of Perikle's Heroön is no doubt also connected with the construction of two further dynastic heroa in central Lycia at this time. One was constructed at Trysa, the other at Phellos.[82] Both these monuments date to approximately the same time as the Heroön at Limyra.[83] Although Borchhardt has suggested that the Trysa Heroön might have been the tomb of Mithrapata,[84] it seems more plausible that both these tombs were erected by members of the Lycian 'nobility' with close ties to those particular areas. As already noted, the topography of central Lycia was conducive to an independent attitude amongst the cities there, and it seems quite plausible that these heroa were erected as a claim to central Lycian independence, in defiance of the authority of both Xanthos and Limyra. It should be noted that both pillar-tombs are found at both Trysa and Phellos,[85] demonstrating that both were sites where the settled 'nobility' were part of the higher strata of the overall Lycian social hierarchy.

Recently two inscriptions have been unearthed in Limyra that shed a little light upon the internal policy of Perikles towards the Lycians. The first (*SEG* 41 1380) is an inscription recording what is probably a letter to Limyra, that perhaps once was part of an archive wall.[86]

> --
> [-- *c.* 13 -- Π]ερνίτας ON[87] ἱδρυσ[------------------]
> [-- *c.* 14 --]ς Περικλῆς Λυκίω[ν --- *c.* 14 ---]N[------]
> τόν τε ἱεροκήρυκα καὶ τὸν ἱερέα ΑΝΑΓ[88][-- *c.* 13 --]τηι/[-- *c.* 20 + ?
> --ὑπὸ τῆς γυ]-

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[79] Borchhardt 1976: 88-91; 1990c: 75 fig. 2, 77.

[80] Compare the depiction of Merehi fighting the Chimaira on his sarcophagus (Brewster 1993: 66), if it is Merehi—it may be Bellerophon (see p. 211).

[81] Borchhardt 1993: 48-49.

[82] Trysa: Benndorf, Niemann 1889; Oberleitner 1990; 1994. Phellos: Borchhardt *et al.* 1989.

[83] Date of Trysa Heroön (*c.* 380-370): Childs 1973a; 1976: 281-316; Oberleitner 1990: 72; 1996: 56-61; date of Phellos Heroön: Borchhardt *et al.* 1989: 96.

[84] Borchhardt 1970: 389.

[85] Zahle 1980: 44 fig 1; Deltour-Levie 1982: *Tableau récapitulatif.*

[86] Ed. pr. Wörrle 1991: 224-34.

[87] This is followed by a space with a dot above the line; but Wörrle 1991 is not sure whether this is the end of a sentence (in which case ON is the neuter participle of εἶναι) or a flaw in the stone (in which case it is a relative pronoun).

[88] Or possibly ΑΝΑΠ, i.e. either a form of ἀναγράφειν or ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος: Wörrle 1991.

ναικὸς αὐτοῦ ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν τέκνων ἢ ὑπ[ὸ τῶν ἐκγόνων α]ὐτοῦ ἢ ὑ[πὸ ---------]
τα εἰλήφασι, πορεύεσθαι ἐν ἔτεσιν τρισὶν [-- *c.* 12 --]ομένους ΑΓ[89] [----------]
σαν, ὅτι τῶν μετὰ τῶν Περνιτῶν ΗΔΙ[-4-5- μ]ηκέτι μετεῖναι το[ῖς ?-- *c.* 30 + ? -- γε]-
γραφήκατε ταῦτα οὕτως γίνε<σ>θαι ἀπὸ Περ[ικ]λέους ἕως τοῦ νῦν, οὔ[τε -- *c.* 30 + ? --]
οὔτε νῦν, ἀλλὰ γινέσθω περὶ τούτων καθάπερ γεγραφήκατε· vacat [Ἔρρωσθε]

[Lines 1-3 untranslatable]

... that [?] the herald of the priest and the priest should in[scribe ?] ... [by his wi]fe or by his children or b[y h]is [relatives] or b[y ...]-*ta* have removed, that [those of them who wi]sh [to go] away [?] should go in three years [...], that of the *edi*-[...] with the Pernitai [n]o-one be among t[he ...] these matters [have] been written to be such from [the time of] Per[ik]le until now, nei[ther ...] nor now, but let it be concerning these matters whatever has been written.

[Farewell.]

As Wörrle notes, this appears to be a letter written in response to a petition either from the Limyrans or from a subsection of them.[90] Wörrle considers a number of possibilities for the addressee of this petition: the Carian satrap Pixodaros or one of the two ἄρχοντες Λυκίας he appointed (N 320.*b*.1-4); Alexander; Nearchos, Alexander's satrap in Lycia; Antigonos Monopthalmos; or Ptolemy I.[91] Of these possibilities the former seems unlikely; given the circumstances of Perikle's replacement by the Hekatomnids (pp. 172-74), it is unlikely that Pixodaros would emphasize any continuity between himself and Perikle.

The Pernitai have been identified as a perioikic community near Limyra.[92] Superficially, this is attractive, but there are two major problems.

(1) the Pernitai clearly have some political apparatus of their own, and it has been argued (pp. 55-56) that the distinction between *politai* and *perioikoi* in Lycian cities is a wholly geographic one relating to place of abode, and has no political implications beyond that. Therefore it is difficult to believe that a perioikic community would have its own 'council' as early as the fourth century, when the Lycians were only just starting to take over Greek political structures.[93]

89 Possibly [αὐτῶν τοὺς βουλ]ομένους ἀπ[ιέναι --]; Wörrle 1991.
90 Wörrle 1991.
91 Wörrle 1991.
92 Wörrle 1991.
93 See Keen, forthcoming [c].

(2) the use of *koinon* is worrying. Why use this term rather than one of the other more common terms for a 'village council'? The Lycians tended to borrow the obvious Greek term, even if it did not always have the requisite baggage attached.

The other inscription is a dedication to Zeus set up by Perikle (*SEG* 41 1382):[94]

> [παῖδα] Κρόνου Ῥέας τε θεῶν ὕπατον Δία τιμ[ῶν]
> [ἱδρύετ]αι βωμὸμ Περικλῆς Λυκίας β[ασιλεύων]
>
> Honouring Zeus the highest, son of the gods Kronos and Rhea, Perikle, king of Lycia, dedicated [this] altar.

Two points are of interest here. One is that we see Perikle making dedications; this is comparable to indications on the Inscribed Pillar of the kings making dedications (p. 53). The second point, assuming the restoration is correct, is Perikle's description of himself as *basileus* (pp. 47-48).

Perikle's rejection of Persian overlordship and his participation in the 'Satraps' Revolt'

It seems reasonable to assume, despite Bryce's view to the contrary, that Perikle's ambitions were not at first "incompatible with a pro-Persian administration in the country".[95] His ambition seems to have been to establish eastern independence from the rulers of Xanthos, with Perikle himself as king. Had the Persians accepted such an arrangement, Perikle would probably not have made any break with Persia at all. The arrival of the two Persians Arttum̃para and Mithrapata, however, was a clear signal that such an arrangement as Perikle desired was not to be; instead, Persian supervision of Lycia was to be rather closer than it had been in the past. It would only have been at this point that Perikle decided to make his break with Persia.

Perikle did not, however, make his break with Persia immediately upon the arrival of the Persian officers. The presence of almost equal numbers of the coins of Perikle and Mithrapata in the Podalia hoard, at least as far as can be discerned,[96] indicates that whoever buried it had at least until a short time before the burial equal access to the coinage of the two rulers;

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[94] Ed. pr. Wörrle 1991: 203-17.

[95] Bryce 1986: 111; repeated at 1995: 1163.

[96] Olçay, Mørkholm 1971: 1. It should be noted that of the estimated one thousand six hundred coins originally in the hoard, only five hundred and ten recovered by the Turkish authorities can be positively asserted as belonging to it; Olçay and Mørkholm include as probable constituents of the hoard a further two hundred and twenty coins of the same types that appeared in various public and private collections and sales catalogues between 1958 and 1971.

this suggests that the two coinages were at some point in circulation together. It would not be surprising if Perikle had not acted immediately; the arrival of Mithrapata would require Perikle to alter his existing plans to take account of the fact that he probably was going to have to tackle Persia, and so a few years' preparations might be expected.

Perikle had, however, almost certainly acted by the time Arttum̃para was minting in Side.[97] This is dated by Atlan to *c.* 370,[98] largely on the basis of her belief that it should be associated with the early years of the Satraps' Revolt. Mørkholm argues that on numismatic grounds the coin cannot be earlier than *c.* 380, since the Side coin series with an obverse type of Athena carrying a small Nike (of which this is one) postdate those on which Athena carries an owl; the latter are to be dated to *c.* 400.[99]

This coinage is inscribed with Arttum̃para's name in Lycian; the most likely explanation is that it was required for use in Lycia, presumably in an attempt to recover Lycia after Arttum̃para had been driven out. Atlan dates the coin to after Arttum̃para's defeat by Perikle,[100] placing it in the earliest years of the Satraps' Revolt. Childs suggests that Arttum̃para's presence in Side is to be explained by his acting as a lieutenant of Autophradates against Datames (from which task he was recalled to deal, unsuccessfully, with the revolt in Lycia).[101] This is, as Hornblower notes, entirely conjecture,[102] though this makes it no different from much discussion on Lycian history. However, it seems an unlikely conjecture. If this were so, the only reason for inscribing the coinage in Lycian would be to pay Lycian troops fighting against Datames, as Childs suggests;[103] but there is no other evidence for coinage inscribed in Lycian being intended for use outside Lycia, and those Lycian coins found outside Lycia do not suggest that Lycian coinage was exported in any great amount.[104] One is inclined to accept more readily Atlan's suggestion that the coin post-dates Arttum̃para's expulsion from Lycia, and was intended to pay loyal Lycians in an attempt to regain control.

The sources, literary and archaeological, provide only brief glimpses of the events of Perikle's struggle against Mithrapata and Arttum̃para. The burial of the Podalia hoard is possibly connected with military activity in the region of that city; Zahle suggests that it was "money for some official

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[97] Atlan 1958.
[98] Atlan 1958: 92-94.
[99] Mørkholm 1964: 73. Date of the Athena/owl coins of Side: Babelon 1910: 934-37.
[100] Atlan 1958: 93-95; Houwink ten Cate 1961: 10 n. 1; Mørkholm 1964: 73.
[101] Childs 1981: 76. If Datames' revolt is to be dated to 368-367 (Sekunda 1988b: 44-52), the coin is a little too early to be associated.
[102] Hornblower 1982: 172.
[103] See also Bryce 1986: 113.
[104] Zahle 1989: 175.

purpose", comparing it with the Decadrachm Hoard.[105] It was possibly money for military purposes being moved through Milyas that needed to be buried in a hurry. The composition of the Lycian coins in the hoard does not indicate by which side the hoard was collected, since either Perikle or Mithrapata could have gathered these coins into their treasuries before hostilities commenced. The presence in the hoard of two hundred and forty-two coins from Aspendos in Pamphylia (of which forty are Persian sigloi),[106] however, suggests that it is more likely to have been from a Persian treasury, the non-Lycian coins perhaps being supplied by the Persians to supplement the resources of Mithrapata (since all the Lycian coinage is from east Lycia, the hoard must be connected with Mithrapata rather than Arttum̃para).[107] If this does represent military activity by Perikle in southern Milyas, then the inscription attesting his kingship at Kızılca nearby demonstrates that he was successful. This fighting was probably amongst the earliest, since Mithrapata in eastern Lycia would obviously be Perikle's first target.[108] Mithrapata's eventual fate is unclear.[109]

As noted above (p. 151), Arttum̃para seems to have had a success at Wazzis in association with Khekhkhebẽñti, and to have held the town long enough to levy tribute from it. His success there, however, may not have lasted very long. An inscription under a relief at Limyra indicates that 'Tebursseli set [it] up for Lusñtre in [?] Wazzis'[110] (*TAM* i 104.*a*.1-3: *Tebursseli : prñnawate : Lusñ*[*tr*]*e : ẽti*[111] *: Wazisse*). A second inscription accompanying the reliefs states that 'Tebursseli set [it] up for Gasabala' (*b*.1-2: *Tebursseli : prñnawate : Gasabala*).[112] Lusñtre seems to have been some sort of relative of Tebursseli,[113] who seems to have been a figure of

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105 Zahle 1989: 176.

106 Olçay, Mørkholm 1971: 16-22.

107 It is noteworthy that the coins of Mithrapata in this hoard are relatively fresh, indicating that they had not been in circulation long before burial (Mildenberg 1965: 48).

108 Childs 1981: 76.

109 Zahle 1983: 110 suggests that he was buried in Phellos; Borchhardt, as noted (p. 159), prefers the Trysa Heroön as a burial site. Neither appeals particularly to the current writer.

110 Van den Hout 1995b: 156 translates: "Tebursseli built (it) under Lysander from Wazi (?)".

111 Prof. Melchert informs me that *ẽti* is rather flexible in its use (cf. Greek κατά). The basic structure of the passage is, however, most likely to be 'Tebursseli built [it] for Lusñtre ...', and not, as suggested by Neumann (in Borchhardt *et al.* 1988: 122), 'Tebursseli [son] of Lusñtre built [it] ...'

112 Melchert 1989: 93 lists Gasabala as a nominative, but he now no longer follows this interpretation, believing instead to be a dative (1993a: 101); van den Hout 1995b: 156 holds to the original interpretation, and translates "when Gasabala with Perikles defeated/besieged (?) Artembares and Imbres".

113 Tebursseli is described as *Lusañtrahñ : zeti* on *TAM* i 103.2. The meaning of *zeti* is unclear, but it seems likely to be a term of relationship; Bryce 1986: 163. Neumann's belief that Tebursseli was Lusñtre's son (Borchhardt *et al.* 1988: 122) is probably erroneous, since Lusñtre is unlikely to have been born before *c.* 407 (p. 140).

some importance himself,[114] and it is possible that Gasabala, honoured on the same monument, was also a relation.[115] By the time Tebursseli erected the inscription, Perikle had besieged, or at least engaged with, Arttum̃para (*b*.2-3: *ese : Perikle : tebete : Arttum̃parã:*) and *M̃parahe : telẽzije*, presumably with a successful outcome. The term *telẽzije-* is almost certainly a military term of some kind, and may be a word meaning 'army'.[116] *M̃parahe* is possibly an abbreviation for **Arttum̃parahe*, the genitive of *Arttum̃para*;[117] so a possible interpretation of this *M̃parahe : telẽzije* might be 'Arttum̃para's army'. The relief itself is of a military nature, depicting a number of warriors in Greek dress in the midst of combat.[118]

The following interpretation may then be put forward: the relief was erected by Tebursseli to commemorate the actions (and quite possibly the deaths) at Wazzis of his relations Lusñtre and Gasabala, perhaps under the command of Perikle (this would be reinforced on the translation of *TAM* i 104.*b* of van den Hout; p. 163 n. 112); this force had come to drive Arttum̃para out of Wazzis, and was successful.

For the further expansion of Perikle, information comes from Greek literary sources; the first is a passage from Photius' summary of Book 12 of

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[114] This is indicated by both his own monuments (Borchhardt *et al.* 1988) and the possibility that he was related to Khñtabura, who is mentioned on Tebursseli's own tomb inscription (*TAM* i 103.2). The suggestion that Khñtabura was Tebursseli's uncle (Borchhardt *et al.* 1988: 142) is however based on the belief that Tebursseli was Lusñtre's son. Khñtabura himself was buried in a lavishly decorated sarcophagus, identified as his by *TAM* i 125.b, which perhaps dates to slightly before the time of Perikle (Bryce 1986: 47 makes it contemporary); for the tomb: Borchhardt 1969-1970; İdil 1985: 45-46.

[115] Neumann (in Borchhardt *et al.* 1988: 122) takes *gasabala* to be a title held by Tebursseli; the suggestion is that the term means 'treasurer' (see Neumann 1969: 367; Carruba 1993: 19 & n. 44).

[116] Melchert 1989: 62, describes it as a title (after Laroche 1974: 138; cf. Bryce 1983: 39), but prints no more than a question mark in 1993a: 69, and he now informs me that he believes it to be a noun, equating it with Luwian *kuwalan-*; cf. Carruba 1978. Neumann (Borchhardt *et al.* 1988: 123) also interprets it as 'army', as previously did Torp 1901: 7; Meriggi 1928: 434; Houwink ten Cate 1961: 12. See now, however, van den Hout 1995b, who makes an interesting case for a meaning of 'headquarters'.

[117] The genitive of *Arttum̃para* is only attested in the form *Arttum̃parahe* (M 231a). Borchhardt *et al.* 1988: 143, identify *M̃para* as a separate individual, as does Bryce 1983b: 39, calling him Imbras; cf. Houwink ten Cate 1961: 12, following Sundwall 1913: 81. For Imbres/Imbras in Lycia, see Benndorf, Niemann 1884: 74. See now Schürr 1991-1993. Prof. Melchert has described the suggestion in the text for the derivation of *M̃parahe* as 'illuminating' (pers. comm.), as for linguistic reasons he finds the derivation of *M̃para* from *Imbres* difficult to believe, and cites it in the second edition of his *Lexicon* (1993a: 100). My suggestion has recently been criticized by van den Hout 1995b: 156 n. 10, on the grounds that Lycian abbreviations always run from left to right, and that there are no examples of abbreviation outside coinage. The latter point, however, rather reduces the effect of the former; one cannot necessarily base an argument about abbreviations on inscriptions upon those found on coinage.

[118] Borchhardt *et al.* 1988: 143-44 identify the central figure on the relief as Perikle, and the three figures to one side of him as Tebursseli, Arttum̃para and Lusñtre. If the relief is a monument to Lusñtre and Gasabala, however, it seem likely that they are the central two figures; there seems no reason why Perikle and Arttum̃para should be depicted in the relief at all.

Theopompus' *Philippica* (F 103.17):

> καὶ ὡς Λύκιοι πρὸς Τελμισσεῖς,[119] ἡγουμένου αὐτοῖς τοῦ σφῶν βασιλέως Περικλέους, ἐπολέμησαν καὶ οὐκ ἀνῆκαν πολεμοῦντες ἕως αὐτοὺς τειχήρεις ποιήσαντες καθ' ὁμολογίαν παρεστήσαντο.
>
> ... the Lycians, led by their king Perikle, made war on the Telemessians, and did not desist from the war until they besieged them [the Telemessians] and brought them to terms.

Two things are immediately worth noting. The first is that this event was important enough for Theopompus to record it in the first place. The second is that Theopompus devoted enough time and attention to this incident for Photius to think it worth including in his epitome.

This attack on Telemessos has often been connected with the defeat of Arttum̃para mentioned in *TAM* i 104;[120] but this identification is not possible if, as suggested above, Tebursseli's inscription refers to a victory at Wazzis at which Perikle himself was not actually present. Theopompus seems to imply that Perikle was present at the fall of Telemessos. Given that Arttum̃para possibly issued coinage from Telemessos, however, it is perhaps reasonable to assume that Perikle's attack was part of his struggle against the Persians, although probably Arttum̃para was not himself at the siege of Telemessos, since he seems to have escaped to Side after his defeat in Lycia. As Telemessos is further away from Perikle's base at Limyra than most of the rest of Lycia, this event probably came towards the end of his campaigns.

Theopompus describes Perikle as *basileus* of the Lycians. This merely confirms what was already clear from Perikle's use on inscriptions of *χñtawata*, that Perikle claimed the Lycian kingship, though it might also imply that his claim to it had now been accepted by some outside Lycia.[121]

Another Greek literary passage of relevance comes from the Hellenistic writer Polyaenus (5.42):

> Χαριμένης Μιλήσιος καταφυγὼν ἐς Φασηλίδα, ἐφορμουσῶν αὐτῷ νεῶν μακρῶν Περικλέους τοῦ Λυκίου, περιθέμενος περιθετὴν πεζῇ διὰ τῆς Περικλέους χώρας ἐσώθη.
>
> Charimenes of Miletos fled to Phaselis. The great ships of Perikle the Lycian attacked him; [Charimenes] put on false hair and, [passing] through the territory of Perikle on foot, reached safety.

Charimenes is completely unknown. It has been suggested that he was in

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[119] This spelling later becomes the norm in literary (though not epigraphic) sources (e.g. Arr. *Anab.* 1.24.4; Steph. Byz. 11.19 *s.v.* Ἀγάθη. Since this passage appears in Photius' epitome of Theopompus Book 12 (*Bibl.* 120a), it is unclear whether this is Theopompus' spelling or that of Photius. Cf. Bigwood 1989: 306-08.

[120] Bryce 1980a: 380; Weiskopf 1982: 289.

[121] Weiskopf 1982: 289: "Pericles' power made it possible for him to be labelled as king".

the service of Mausolos, on the grounds that Miletos was probably a Hekatomnid possession and a treaty between Mausolos and Phaselis survives (*TAM* ii 1183),[122] and from that a portrayal of Perikle as a brave Lycian resisting the encroachments of Caria is sometimes derived.[123] This is a house of cards. The treaty is more likely to relate to the period of Carian control of Lycia, and there is no firm evidence of a connection between Charimenes and Mausolos. As noted by Hornblower, the actions of an individual Milesian cannot necessarily be taken as evidence for the policy of Mausolos.[124] Though the connection should not be ruled out absolutely—Charimenes was possibly acting in the service of the Persians and therefore, since Mausolos was the Persian satrap responsible for Miletos, a link between the two is not completely out of the question—there is no actual evidence that Mausolos was involved in Lycia at this time, although he would naturally have taken an interest in the activities of his neighbour.

Nor is it possible to place this event in a firm chronology relative to the other events described above. The fact that Charimenes had to escape through the territory of Perikle suggests that Perikle controlled all of eastern Lycia at this time, so it can probably be put after the events connected with the burying of the Podalia hoard. But how the attack on Phaselis relates to the attack on Telemessos is unclear. If the pursuit of Charimenes is not considered to be Perikle's entire purpose in attacking Phaselis (which seems a plausible position to take), it is possible that this event is to be left until after Perikle had completed the conquest of the rest of Lycia, for an attack on Phaselis may be connected with Arttum̃para's appearance at Side. Perikle may have been intending to take Phaselis as an advanced naval base to defend Lycia from a seaborne Persian attack or simply to deny the harbour facilities at Phaselis to such an attack. But this is uncertain, and it must be borne in mind that Polyaenus mentions only a naval blockade of Phaselis, not a full-scale siege.[125] It is also worth noting that the two locations known from Greek sources as locations for Perikle's fighting are both the main harbour-sites in Lycia, and the two cities on the Lycian peninsula mentioned in the Athenian Tribute Lists.[126]

From the above discussion it is possible to arrive at a relative chronology of events, as follows:

1. Trbbẽnimi and Perikle joint rulers of Limyra, with influence over eastern Lycia.

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[122] Treuber 1887: 105; Judeich 1892: 242 n. 2; Metzger 1979a: 35 n. 27; Weiskopf 1982: 292 & n. 147. Miletos as a Hekatomnid possession: Hornblower 1982: 111.

[123] Bean 1978: 25; Brewster 1993: 81.

[124] Hornblower 1982: 76 n. 164, 111 n. 38.

[125] *Contra* Childs 1981: 79 n. 150.

2. Death of Trbbẽnimi, leaving Perikle as sole ruler. Perikle begins construction of his Heroön.

3. Death of Erbbina; Arttum̃para and Mithrapata are appointed by the Persians to rule western and eastern Lycia respectively.

4. Perikle breaks with Persia and militarily extends his influence into southern Milyas. He is attacked by Arttum̃para, whose forces are driven off after initial Persian successes.

5. Perikle takes Telemessos.

6. After being driven out of Lycia, Arttum̃para mints at Side.

Coinage evidence suggests that Perikle's career as a whole falls into the period *c.* 380-360.[127] It has been suggested that the Lycians were amongst those rebellious peoples against whom Autophradates and Datames campaigned in *c.* 384 (Nep. *Datames* 2.1).[128] Further evidence for an early revolt might be derived from the same source from the fact that the Lycians are conspicuously absent from the force which Autophradates brought against Datames in 368 (Nep. *Datames* 8.2). It has been suggested that the force Autophradates commanded was the expeditionary force that had been collected in the early 360s for use in an expedition against Egypt, a suggestion that seems reasonable given that, although Autophradates attacked Datames from the east, his force contained a number of contingents from western Anatolia; these areas should have been cut off from Autophradates by Datames' revolt in Cilicia, and so it seems likely that the troops were recruited before the revolt.[129]

Most of the peoples of Anatolia were represented in this force, including Lydians, Phrygians, Paphlagonians and Cappadocians, yet there were no Lycians. One explanation might be that it was impossible to recruit Lycian troops for the campaign in the late 360s because Lycia was in revolt.

As has been noted, the Heroön at Limyra was probably completed (at least substantially so) before Perikle's break with the Persians; the earliest date given for the completion of this building is 370. The Podalia hoard, which it has been suggested was buried in the earlier stages of Perikle's revolt, was probably buried *c.* 375-370. Arttum̃para's minting at Side was sometime in the period *c.* 380-370.[130]

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126 Zimmermann 1992a: 48 & n. 126.

127 Six 1887: 76-77; Treuber 1887: 102-04; Hill 1895: 42; Houwink ten Cate 1961: 12-13; Akşit 1967: 119-21; Borchhardt 1967: 165-66; 1970: 386-89; 1976: 99-108; Childs 1981: 73 n. 111; Bryce 1986: 112.

128 Weiskopf 1982: 288 n. 137. Date: Sekunda 1988b: 39-40.

129 Sekunda 1988b: 49.

130 Bryce 1986: 113 suggests that if the Pajawa Sarcophagus is to be dated much after *c.* 370,

A *terminus a quo* might be provided for the capture of Telemessos, since Theopompus places it as the last item in the twelfth book of his *Philippica*, and it may therefore be reasonable to suppose that it was later than the last previous datable event in that book, the death of Euagoras in 374/3, mentioned at F 103.12. If a date for Perikle's capture of Telemessos can be derived from Theopompus' account, then it is some time after 373;[131] but it is not entirely certain that this is a safe deduction, as there is doubt about whether all the events in Theopompus are in the correct chronological order. Between the passage on the death of Euagoras and that concerning Perikle there is a digression on the Greek settlement in archaic times of eastern Lycia and Pamphylia (F 103.14-16; this digression is sparked by the mention of an alliance of Akoris of Egypt with Pisidia [F 103.13], itself out of chronological order[132]), and it may be that the actions of Perikle belong to that digression,[133] rather than to a resumption of the main narrative.

All the available evidence points to the revolt in Lycia breaking out around 370, beginning with a quite rapid initial expansion of Perikle's control over the rest of Lycia. Persian attempts to suppress this revolt seem to have been ineffective. What effect this had on other Anatolian provinces of the empire is uncertain, but it is notable that within a few years of the probable outbreak of the Lycian revolt two Persian satraps in Anatolia, Datames and Ariobarzanes, were also in revolt;[134] Perikle's success may have been a factor in their decisions. It certainly seems that Perikle was in action against Persia before the Revolt as a whole broke out, rather than after.[135]

The revolt in the west grew until much of the western empire had broken its links with Susa to join what is known as the 'Great Satraps' Revolt'.[136] That Lycia joined in this revolt is shown by Diodorus (15.90.3), who lists *Lykioi* amongst the rebels:

> τῶν δὲ Ἰώνων Λύκιοί τε καὶ Πισίδαι καὶ Παμφύλιοι καὶ Κίλικες, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Σύροι καὶ Φοίνικες καὶ σχεδὸν πάντες οἱ παραθαλάσσιοι.

Of the Ionians[137] the Lycians, Pisidians, Pamphylians and Cilicians, and yet

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this will make Perikle's dominance a late feature of his career, but this is based on the assumption that the Sarcophagus predates Perikle, whereas it seems more likely that it is later (p. 171).

131 Treuber 1887: 103 n. 1 chooses 372, followed by Borchhardt 1976: 100 and Zimmermann 1992a: 42..

132 Tuplin 1996: 13.

133 As felt by Tuplin 1996: 13.

134 Date: Sekunda 1988b: 44-52; revolts: Hornblower 1982: 171-75; Weiskopf 1982: 215-77, 341-85; Sekunda 1988b: 44-52.

135 Zimmermann 1992a: 43, 47.

136 I do not accept the recent argument of Weiskopf (1982; 1989) that the Satrap's Revolt is a chimera caused by Greek perceptions of the relations between satraps and the King.

137 Diodorus describes the Lycians and others as τῶν δὲ Ἰώνων; Hornblower 1982: 177 n. 61

further the Syrians and Phoenicians and almost all the coastal dwellers.

Doubt is sometimes cast on Perikle's participation in this action; Jenkins states that "nothing is said about [Perikle] on this occasion ... only the Lycians being mentioned", and Hornblower notes that "it cannot even be assumed that Perikle joined in the Great Revolt".[138] Such scepticism is unnecessary. Perikle was already in revolt from Persia and joining the satraps would make a great deal of sense.[139] Looked at from another perspective, no other leader is known who could have led Lycia into the Revolt; Perikle must have been responsible.[140] It is worth noting the appearance in the Roman imperial period of the name Datames at Arsada;[141] Sekunda suggests that this may derive ultimately from connections with the family of the rebel.[142]

It has also been suggested that Perikle was in contact with Athens at this time.[143] Although the influence of the Athenian Erechtheion on the Heroön of Perikle[144] proves nothing beyond the fact that Perikle wanted his monument to rival the best of Greek sculpture, nonetheless his likely family connections with Athens make it probable that he was at least still in touch with the Athenians.

Diodorus dates the Lycian participation in the Revolt to 362, but this is a result of his method, which tends to concentrate the events of a wide period into a single year; it does not, as Childs has suggested, indicate that Lycia was one of the last states to join the Revolt.[145] Perikle was almost certainly in contact with the rebels from a very early stage. 362 is probably the date of the height of the revolt and its swift collapse.

It has sometimes been suggested that Perikle's control over western Lycia was brief, since no known coins of his are issued on the west-Lycian

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rejects this reading in favour of Dindorf's emendation τῶν δ' ἐθνῶν, on the grounds that "the races listed are not sub-groups of the Ionians". But of these races (ignoring the Mysians, whom Hornblower has imported into the passage), the Lycians and Pamphylians were part of the same satrapy as the Ionians in the satrapy list of Herodotus (3.90.1), the Pisidians are not mentioned by Herodotus, but lie in the general territory of this satrapy, and only the Cilicians are explicitly excluded by Herodotus' testimony (3.90.3). It seems that Diodorus must have been listing those members of Herodotus' 'Ionian' satrapy that joined the revolt, unaware that the satrapal divisions of Darius I did not apply in the 360s, and compounding his mistake by extending the long coastal satrapy too far eastwards.

[138] Jenkins 1959: 36; Hornblower 1982: 182 & n. 97.

[139] Contra Childs 1981: 76: "Pericles must have joined the rebellion after it was well under way and apparently successful".

[140] Bryce 1986: 112.

[141] Bernard 1964: 210.

[142] Sekunda 1991: 102-03.

[143] Childs 1981: 77.

[144] Borchhardt 1976: 77; Zahle 1979: 342 no. 56.

[145] Childs 1981: 76 n. 131.

standard.[146] It has been seen above, however, that Arttum̃para's expulsion from western Lycia is unlikely to have been much later than *c.* 370, and it is difficult to see how Perikle's control over the area could have been weakened before the collapse of the Revolt in 362. In this period he would have been minting a considerable amount of coinage to pay for his troops, yet there is no coinage of his from western Lycia. The most likely explanation is that he closed down the west-Lycian mints, and only the east-Lycian coinage would now circulate in the country, a message to the leaders of western Lycia that their independence was at an end and that they were now subordinated to the rulers of eastern Lycia, i.e. to Perikle.

With the collapse of the Satraps' Revolt, it would of course only be a matter of time before Perikle's independence was crushed. How this actually happened is unclear. It has been suggested that Autophradates, the satrap of Lydia in the early fourth century (Theopomp. F 103.4; Diod. 15.90.3; Nep. *Datames* 2.1), was responsible,[147] and this would fit well with Autophradates' assumption of direct rule over Lycia after the revolt (p. 171); but this can remain only a supposition.

It may also be that Arttum̃para was able to return; the Pajawa Sarcophagus seems to suggest that Pajawa had a hand in returning Lycia to Arttum̃para's control. A short section of the inscription on the sarcophagus (*Pajawa : Ed*[.....] | *tideimi : A*[--]|*rah : telẽzi*[*jehi*[148]] | *qla : Trm̃mis*[*ñ :*[149]]: *TAM* i 40.*c*.1-4) is translated by van den Hout as "when Pajawa, son of Ed[...], [plac]ed (?) Lycia in the precinct/district of A[-...]'s *telẽzije* and [...]ed it/him". The name of the individual with whom Pajawa was dealing on this occasion is damaged, as can be seen. But the name may be Arttum̃para,[150] and the whole phrase may be a reference to 'the army of Arttum̃para'.[151]

Perikle's own fate is unclear. Borchhardt has suggested that he fled to Straton I of Sidon,[152] but there is no evidence for this and it seems more likely that he was executed.[153] Whatever his personal fate, it is clear that his career as ruler of Lycia must have come to an end.[154]

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146 Childs 1981: 76 n. 131; Bryce 1986: 113.

147 Bryce 1986: 113.

148 Restoration by Torp 1901: 6-7.

149 Restoration by van den Hout 1995b: 157.

150 For the restoration of 'Arttum̃para' in the inscription, see Carruba 1978: 176 n. 41; Schmitt 1982a: 18; van den Hout 1995b: 157 n. 16, though Carruba (176) actually prefers *A*[*laχssant*]*rah*, which is not only too long, as van den Hout notes, but most unlikely in the historical context.

151 For *telẽzije* as 'army', see p. 164 n. 116.

152 Borchhardt 1967: 166.

153 Houwink ten Cate 1961: 13.

154 Bryce 1986: 113.

CHAPTER TWELVE

THE END OF THE DYNASTIC SYSTEM OF RULE IN LYCIA, AND THE BEGINNING OF CARIAN DOMINATION

To understand the end of Lycian 'independence', it is necessary to understand something of the role of Autophradates in Lycia. Two inscriptions mention his name.

By far the more important of these historically is that from a grave at the central Lycian site of Bayındır Limanı, ancient Sebeda (*TAM* i 61).[1] This mentions Autophradates (in the form *Wataprddata*)[2] with the *ẽnẽ* ... *χñtawata* formula (l. 2). Given the existence in Lycian of a direct equivalent of satrap (*χssadrapa*) which is applied elsewhere to Autophradates (*TAM* i 40.*d*.1) it seems unlikely that *χñtawata* is here simply being used as an alternative for 'satrap', though the possibility must remain. Autophradates was being described as 'King of Lycia' at the time this inscription was erected. This inscription can only date to after the end of Perikle's reign;[3] before his departure, Perikle's own name would be used in the *ẽnẽ* ... *χñtawata* formula in an inscription from central Lycia, and before that, the name of Mithrapata. It appears then that, in the immediate aftermath of the reign of Perikle, Autophradates himself assumed direct responsibility for the control of Lycian affairs—a Persian official acting as temporary 'king' of Lycia until a reliable local alternative could be found.[4]

The other inscription (*TAM* i 40) is on the sides of the Sarcophagus of Pajawa, which dates to *c*. 370 at the earliest.[5] Pajawa very possibly was Autophradates' representative at Xanthos;[6] he may even have served under Arttum̃para (p. 170). On this inscription Autophradates is named only as 'Persian satrap' (*χssadrapa : Pa*[*rz*]*a*, *d*.1-2). It may be that officially he

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[1] Published as being from Phellos, but see Bean 1958a: 49-55 and 1978: 96-99 for the correct identification of this site as Sebeda and not Phellos.

[2] Schmitt 1982a: 26-27.

[3] Bryce 1986: 110 states that the inscription shows that Persian influence still extended to 'eastern' (*sic*) Lycia during Perikle's reign; at 110 n. 30 & 111, however, he does consider the possibility that the inscription post-dates Perikle.

[4] Bryce 1986: 168 suggests that Arttum̃para was reinstated after the revolt, but there is no evidence for this; if it were so, then he, not Autophradates, should have appeared in connection with the *ẽnẽ* ... *χñtawata* formula at *TAM* i 61.2.

[5] Sarcophagus: Demargne 1974: 61-87, pls. xxx, 28, 30, 32-45.1; İdil 1985: 82-83, pls. 87-88. Date: İdil 1985: 83; Bryce 1986: 111.

[6] According to Neumann 1996: 146 he has a Greek name.

retained this title for his dealings with Lycia, and did not formally adopt the title of 'king' (*χñtawati*); but for a time was so closely involved with the administration of Lycia that, as with Arppakhu, some of his subjects perceived his true position. Alternatively, this inscription simply predates the Sebeda inscription, and hence Autophradates' assumption of the title *χñtawati*.

In any case, if Borchhardt and Kaptan are right,[7] Autophradates is represented by the seated figure depicted in the audience scene on the side of the sarcophagus, which clearly demonstrates that he was looked up to as the most important individual within Lycia. This is interesting because the audience scene, though originally Persian-derived, was previously used by the Lycian dynasts as a means of depicting themselves and the power they possessed (p. 65). So here, as in his assumption of the title *χñtawati*, Autophradates is found being depicted with the attributes of power used by the Lycian rulers.

There seem to have been a return to deportations as a punishment for the Lycians. When Alexander's army pressed beyond Susa into Persis in 331, they captured a Lycian, by the name of Pharnouches (Diod. 17.68.5; Curt. 5.4.4-13; Plut. *Alex.* 31.1-2; Polyaen. 4.3.27). This man had been captured by the Persians in Lycia and resettled in Persis. The most likely context for this is in the years immediately following the Satraps' Revolt,[8] as it seems unlikely that deportations from Lycia took place after it became administered by the Carians. It is interesting to note that Pharnouches' mother was a Persian by birth (Plut. *Alex.* 31.2); this shows that even some Lycian families closely tied to the Achaemenid nobility by marriage had supported Perikle's revolt.

Autophradates' period of direct rule did not last long; soon the country was handed over to Mausolos to govern.[9] There is no evidence for the common supposition[10] that Mausolos and Perikle had been in direct conflict before the latter's fall from power. There is, however, no reason to doubt Mausolos' rule in Lycia at some point before his death in 352. The evidence is as follows:

1. Mausolos' hyparch Kondalos is recorded as raising money from the Lycians in return for not forcing them to cut their long hair ([Arist.] *Oec.* 2.2.14 [1348a]); this is obviously a humorous story that has distorted a

[7] Borchhardt 1980; Kaptan 1996: 267.
[8] Sekunda 1991: 100.
[9] On Lycia as a Carian possession, see Hornblower 1982: 2 n. 8, 121 & n. 130.
[10] E.g. Bean 1978: 25; Childs 1981: 77 n. 132; Weiskopf 1982: 292-93.

genuine event which cannot now be reconstructed beyond the fact that Mausolos was at some point in a position to raise revenue from Lycia.[11]

2. Mausolos' treaty with Phaselis (*TAM* ii 1183) suggests the possibility of his having control over the intervening area between Phaselis and Caria, i.e. Lycia.

3. An incomplete quotation given by Stephanus (582.3-4 *s.v.* Σολύμοι) may possibly suggest that Carian forces campaigned in eastern Milyas in the time of Mausolos.

4. Lucian (*Dial. mort.* 29.1 Macleod) includes 'Lydian inhabitants' (Λυδῶν ἐνίων) amongst the subjects of Mausolos; it has been suggested that this should be emended to 'Lycian inhabitants' (Λυκίων ἐνίων),[12] and this would fit with the other evidence (whereas the unemended text has no basis in historical reality).[13]

5. The Letoön Trilingual attests that in the reign of Mausolos' brother Pixodaros[14] Lycia was a Hekatomnid possession (N 320.*a*.1, *b*.1), a conclusion supported by *TAM* i 45, an administrative decree from Xanthos mentioning Pixodaros. The most likely time for Lycia to have become a Hekatomnid possession would be during the administrative reorganization of the western empire after the Satraps' Revolt.

Moreover, it has been noted that the Mausoleum, the tomb of Mausolos, has many similarities with Lycian tombs such as the Nereid Monument. This is surely not coincidental, and it may well be a 'propagandist reply' to the Lycian monuments.[15] It seems probable that the Mausoleum is an attempt to legitimize his rights to control that country, by being buried in a Lycian-style tomb, i.e. Mausolos was claiming by this tomb that he was the legitimate heir of Kuprlli and Erbbina.

It seems unlikely that Mausolos received Lycia as a reward for his betrayal of the Satraps' Revolt;[16] he must have counted himself lucky that he was still alive and in control of Caria. More likely, it had been decided by the Persian administration that Lycia must be much more closely watched

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11 On this passage: Hornblower 1982: 121 & n. 130.

12 Judeich 1892: 242 n. 3; Bockisch 1969: 152 n. 7; Metzger 1979: 37 n. 30; rejected by Krumbholz 1883: 81; Weiskopf 1982: 273-74. Hornblower 1982: 2 n. 3, accepts the emendation, but adds "Λυδῶν may be historically wrong but palaeographically right". See Houwink ten Cate 1961: 13 n. 4.

13 From this restoration of Mausolos' rule over 'some' Lycians, Meyer 1925: 6 deduced that Mausolos ruled only over western Lycia; but this does not seem very likely under the circumstances, and conflicts with the implications of St. Byz. and the Phaselis decree, and the discovery of a Carian Double-Axe stele at Limyra, which suggests Carian rule there (Borchhardt 1978b).

14 For the date of this decree, 337/6 rather than 358/7, see Badian 1977.

15 Hornblower 1994b: 215; see also Coupel, Demargne 1969: 159; Wörrle 1991: 215.

16 As suggested by e.g. Bryce 1983b: 39.

in future, to prevent any repeat of the career of Perikle, and the most effective means to that end was to put the country under Carian control. Lycia now became to all intents and purposes an occupied territory. Coinage minting disappeared,[17] obviously having been suppressed (though this may have happened under Autophradates' direct rule; there are, for instance, no coins of Pajawa). Garrisons were established at strategic points,[18] and Carian cults, such as that of Basileus Kaunios attested on the Letoön Trilingual seem to have been deliberately promoted as part of a process of 'Carianization'.[19] Other evidence pointing in the same direction includes a Carian double-axe stele found at Limyra.[20] The effect seems to have been a considerable depression in Lycia.[21] On the other hand, Mausolos seems to have been influenced in his approach to rule by his Lycian predecessors.[22] A full discussion of Carian rule of Lycia, however, lies outside the scope of this work.[23]

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[17] Unless we accept the suggestion of Bryce 1986: 51 that the Athena-head coinage dates to after Carian control began, on which see pp. 146-47.

[18] Pixodaros appointed an ἐπιμελητής ('superintendent' or 'garrison-commander'; see Hornblower 1982: 147 n. 81) at Xanthos (N 320.*b*.4-5); Alexander encountered mercenary citadels on the Lycian borders, one at Hyparna on the way between Halikarnassos and Lycia (Arr. *Anab.* 1.24.4), and one held by the Marmares on the borders of Lycia (Diod. 17.28.1-5; Stark 1958b: 116 identified this with Çandır in Pamphylia, whilst Bosworth 1980: 158 places it in Milyas; see now Keen 1996c: 117-18); and the 'Village of the Kardakes' (pp. 64-65) may have been established in this period.

[19] Borchhardt 1978b; Metzger *et al.* 1979: *passim*; Bryce 1986: 193.

[20] Borchhardt 1978b: 183-91. It has been claimed that *labrys*, a word meaning 'two-headed axe', is derived from Lycian, though alternatively Lydian (Plut. *Mor.* 302a) and Carian are suggested.

[21] Note Zahle 1979: 320, who dates only four sculptured monuments to after *c.* 350.

[22] Hornblower 1982: 353.

[23] See further Hornblower 1982: 119-23.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

ENVOI: LYCIA AFTER THE ACHAEMENIDS

Though the dynastic rule had gone, Lycia remained a part of the Achaemenid empire until the conquest of Alexander. Alexander himself invaded Lycia in 334/3, noting the area's strategic significance (p. 33). After that, Lycia became part of the Hellenistic kingdoms.

Ultimately the strong Lycian national identity could not survive the pressures of the changing Greek world of the late fourth and third centuries. The Carian rulers had begun a process of suppressing the indigenous culture, and promoting their own Helleno-Carian culture.[1] This process was accelerated by the conquest of Alexander and the influx of new Greek settlers into Lycia in the Hellenistic period,[2] so that the Lycian language was virtually eliminated in its written form by the end of the fourth century.[3]

Of all the states of the Hellenistic world, Lycia is perhaps one of the most interesting, but also one of the most neglected.[4] This modern neglect contrasts sharply with Lycia's frequent appearances in the ancient sources. So, for instance, the much-quoted letter of Eumenes II of Pergamon of 181 concerning remission of taxes was written to Artemidoros, governor of Telemessos.[5] Gaius Caesar, the heir of Augustus died in A.D. 3 at Limyra (Dio Cass. 55.10.9), where a cenotaph was erected for him[6] (a cenotaph, incidentally, that is fully in the tradition of Lycian ruler-tombs such as the Nereid Monument). And these are only a few of the examples that leap most readily to mind. The history of Lycia in the Hellenistic period contains much of interest. It was often fought over by major Hellenistic powers, before being declared free by the Roman Senate in 167, and managed to survive as nominally independent

Whether the families that had dominated in the Classical period continued to hold any power is unclear. If the inscription from Isinda naming Pt-

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1 For Hekatomnid Hellenization: Hornblower 1982: 332-51.

2 Bryce 1986: 171.

3 Bryce 1986: 50.

4 Lycia and the Lycians receive only five mentions in Green 1990 (9, 23, 34, 146, 422), and none at all in Walbank 1992.

5 On this see Segre 1938: 190-207; Rostovtzeff 1941: II, 645-48; III, 1477 n. 61; Maier 1959: no. 76; Hansen 1971: 184-85; Walbank 1979: 173-74; Austin 1981: 330 no. 202; Sekunda 1991: 105-06.

6 Borchhardt 1974; Ganzert 1984; 1990; Borchhardt 1990d.

tule does belong to the early Ptolemaic era (p. 48-49), it is worth noting that this document also repeatedly mentions the name Kheziga, which, as Bryce points out, is a name associated with the family of Kuprlli and Kheriga.[7] The dating of this inscription must remain open to question, however.

The Hellenistic period was one of significant political development in Lycia, as the cities moved further towards being Greek-style *poleis*. So Telemessos had an ἐκκλησία κυρία, which is attested by 282 (*SEG* 28 1224.4-5),[8] and the same document attests *archontes* (*SEG* 28 1224.8). Xanthos too had *archontes*, attested by 260/59 (*SEG* 33 1183), though like those of Telemessos they were not eponymous.[9]

There are some instances of tyranny in the early Hellenistic period, but even those seem fairly localized affairs. Polyaenus (5.35) records a tyrant of Telemessos by the name of Antipatrides:

> Νέαρχος Κρὴς κατέσχε Τελμησσὸν Ἀντιπατρίδου κρατοῦντος. κατέπλευσε μὲν ἐς τὸν λιμένα Νέαρχος. ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀντιπατρίδης, παλαιὸς ὢν φίλος, ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας κατέβη πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ διελέξαντο περὶ ὧν ἐβούλοντο, ὁ Κρὴς ἔφη βούλεσθαι γυναῖκας ἀποθέσθαι παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ παῖδας δεδεμένους. ὁ μὲν Ἀντιπατρίδης ἐπέτρεψεν, οἱ δὲ παῖδες οἱ δεδεμένοι τὰ σκεύη τῶν μουσουργῶν γυναικῶν ἀνεκόμισαν· ἐν δὲ τοῖς κιβωτίοις τῶν αὐλῶν ἐνῆν ἐγχειρίδια γυμνά, ἐν δὲ ταῖς κίσταις πέλται. ὡς δ' εἴσω τῆς ἄκρας ἐγένοντο, οἱ τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἄγοντες σπασάμενοι τὰ ἐγχειρίδια καταλαμβάνουσι τὴν ἄκραν, καὶ τῆς Τελμησσοῦ Νέαρχος ἐκράτησεν.

> Nearchos the Cretan took Telemessos away from Antipatrides. Nearchos sailed into the harbour. When Antipatrides, an old friend, came down from the acropolis and conversed with him, the Cretan said that he wanted to leave some women and slaves in chains with him. Antipatrides agreed, and the slaves in chains took the baggage of the female musicians. In the boxes for the pipes were unsheathed daggers and in the chests were small shields. When they were inside the acropolis, the men leading the women and the slaves drew the daggers and captured the citadel, and Nearchos became master of Telemessos.[10]

Nothing is known of Antipatrides other than that he was a friend of Nearchos. Whether this means he was a local man or a Macedonian is unclear, as Nearchos was involved in the affair of Alexander's proposed marriage to Pixodaros' daughter—or at least was exiled as a result of it—and so may have had contacts in south-west Asia Minor; in any case, Nearchos was ap-

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[7] Isinda decree: *TAM* i 65. For Kheziga, see Bryce 1986: 49; p. 81.
[8] See Wörrle 1988: 119-20. For the date cf. p. 177 n. 19.
[9] See Bousquet 1988: 24 n. 10.
[10] Translation adapted from Krentz, Wheeler 1994: 533-35.

pointed by Alexander as satrap of Lycia and so may have made this friendship at that point.[11]

There is considerable evidence from Telemessos for the rule there of a dynasty, beginning with Ptolemy son of Lysimachos in the mid-third century, continuing with Lysimachos, and ending with Ptolemy of Telemessos.[12] Larsen and Bryce believe that the last was tyrant of the Telemessians, though it might be noted that his territory was excluded from the grants of lands to Eumenes of Pergamon after the Peace of Apamea in 190, which Telemessos and its fortified town were not.[13] Lund and Meadows believe that the first of this line is to be identified with the son of Alexander's general Lysimachos; Bryce suspects that the last Ptolemy was related to the Egyptian Ptolemies directly.[14] The names Ptolemy and Lysimachos, however, may be an example of the way names of important figures from among Lycia's rulers became adopted by Lycians themselves. The occurrences of the names Harpagos and Perikles have already been noted, and another name to be adopted in the Classical period that possibly arises out of such traditions was Lysander.[15]

Xanthos also had two tyrants at some point in the second century, Lysanias and Eudemos (*SEG* 18 570.36-46), but their brief reign belongs to the early years of the Lycian League. All the other evidence for Xanthos points to it being ruled by non-eponymous *archontes*[16] in the third century.

Nonetheless, it is clear that the idea of Lycia as a nation persisted in this period, resulting in the formation of the Lycian League,[17] probably in the early years of the second century. A few tantalizing glimpses emerge.[18]

A decree of Telemessos from 282[19] may possibly indicate in the wording 'the temple of Apollo, Artemis and Leto' (*SEG* 28 1224 43-44) that a copy of the decree would be put up at the Letoön, though Wörrle makes no

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11 Nearchos' exile: Plut. *Alex.* 10.5; as satrap of Lycia: Arr. *Anab.* 3.6.6.

12 Ptolemy son of Lysimachos: *TAM* ii 1 (= *OGIS* 55); Segre 1938: 183; on Ptolemy see now Savalli 1987. Lysimachos: Segre 1936: 359; 1993: ED 56. Ptolemy of Telemessos: Liv. 38.56.4; Welles 1934: 156-63 no. 36.18-20, with commentary at 161-62; Segre 1938: 190; Cohen 1995: 331.

13 Larsen 1968: 243; Bryce 1986: 250. See *SEG* 37 1229 and refs.

14 Lund 1992: 160; Meadows 1995; Bryce 1986: 250; see also Welles 1934: 161-62. For the son of Alexander's general, see also Lund 1992: 185, 186, 188, 197-98.

15 *TAM* i 90.2; 103.2; 104.*a*.2-3. A slightly different approach to Greek names in Lycia was adopted in Keen 1994.

16 *SEG* 37 1218.7 (243/2); 38.1476.7, 64, 68 (206/5); see Bousquet 1988: 24 n. 10.

17 For a more detailed treatment of the Lycian League than will be given in this work, see Larsen 1968: 240-63; Jameson 1980; most recently see Kolb, Kupke 1992: 23-27. For the coinage see Troxell 1982.

18 I am grateful to Mr A.R. Meadows for discussing many of the following matters with me, especially those related to *SEG* 28 1224.

19 Wörrle 1978: 212-13 dates it to 279, but it has recently been shown that the correct dating of the fourth regnal year of Ptolemy II is 282; see Grzybek 1990: 115-34 (esp. 124-31).

comment on this in the ed. pr., and it must be noted that many Telemessian decrees make provision for a copy to be placed in a local temple of Artemis.[20] If the reference is to the Letoön this would seems to be evidence for the shrine continuing to have national importance in the early Hellenistic period. A decree of Limyra in honour of two Kaunians, usually dated to 288/7,[21] honours these men not only for their services to Limyra, but also 'to the other Lycians' (εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους Λυκίους, *SEG* 27 929). There is also a decree of Aspendos of *c.* 301-298 (*SEG* 17 639), recording help given to the Aspendians by, among others, Lycians, but this does not mean very much, as everyone on this inscription seems to be listed by *ethne* and not *polis*, the reason being that it is an inscription in honour of Lycian mercenaries in the service of Ptolemy I (ὅσοι μετὰ [Φι?]λοκλέους κ[αὶ] | Λεωνίδου παραγενόμνοι, 'whoever came with Philokles and Leonidas').

The earliest indication of the League comes from an honorary inscription for the *archisomatophylax* Ptolemaios (*OGIS* 99),[22] dedicated by the League at Alexandria, and dated either *c.* 188-181 or *c.* 182-180.[23] A second inscription, a decree of Araxa honouring the Araxian Orthagoras, which was once thought to date to approximately the same time, has now been dated later, to after 167, perhaps in the late 160s or 150s.[24] As Bryce has pointed out, there is no positive, indisputable indication of federalism in Lycia before this,[25] and the case for a Classical federation is based on a 'federalist' reading of the evidence that does exist.[26] It seems that the lack of such evidence is not simply an accident of survival. For the epigraphic record from third-century Lycia is not particularly poor, yet there are no third-century mentions of the *koinon*, even in documents where such a mention might be expected.

For example there is a dossier from Xanthos concerning an embassy from the Kytenians, supported by the Aetolians in 206/5 (*SEG* 38 1476). Here it is true that the Kytenians were playing on a supposed *syngeneia*

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[20] Wörrle 1978: 201-46. Cf. *TAM* ii 1.36-38 (= *OGIS* 55), 2.17-19; Segre 1993: ED 56.10-11.

[21] Wörrle 1977: 45-46. Mr Meadows tells me he believes the document has been misattributed by Wörrle to Ptolemy I, and belongs in fact in the reign of Ptolemy II, in 249 (to be discussed in Meadows, forthcoming).

[22] See Treuber 1887: 149-50; Kornemann 1924: 927; Larsen 1945: 72; von Aulock 1974: 16; *SEG* 27 1029; Lazzarini 1980: 129-36; *SEG* 30 1721.

[23] The former are Dittenberger's dates given in *OGIS*, the latter are the dates of Lazzarini 1980: 134-35.

[24] *SEG* 18 570; ed. pr. Bean 1948: 46-56; see also Larsen 1968: 241 n. 2; cited as amongst the earliest evidence for the League by Bryce 1986: 102. For the redating see Errington 1987: 114-18; *SEG* 37 1218. M. A. Bresson would now like to date this inscription to the 120s.

[25] Though the date of Hill 1897: xxii and Head 1911: 693 of 168/7 as the start of the League is too late.

[26] Bryce 1986: 102.

('kinship')[27] with Xanthos rather than any direct relationship to the League (A.8-15: 'the Dorian ambassadors ... called upon us, when we had been reminded of our existing *syngeneia* with them').[28] But that *syngeneia* was based on mutual links with Leto, *via* Apollo (A.17-20), and Leto was generally seen as pan-Lycian rather than specifically Xanthian in her aspect (and in any case it is worth remembering that the Greek world as a rule made little 'ethnic' distinction between one Lycian city and another). Such an embassy ought to have concerned the *koinon* of the Lycians, had it existed, and it strikes one as odd that the League did not get involved in this affair, especially as the *koinon* of the Aetolians *did* (1476 B & C).

The other argument is based on the use of the term Λύκιος ἀπό ... or variations as evidence for a federal citizenship. Larsen cites the identification of an Olympic victor of 256, Tlepolemos, as a Lycian rather than by his city (Paus. 5.8.11: Τληπόλεμος Λύκιος) as evidence that the League was in existence by then;[29] but one should expect Lycians to be so identified by Greeks throughout their history.[30] Only if he were identified as a Lycian *and* by his city (as one man is later in an Athenian inscription; *IG* ii^2 2315.30, from after *c.* 180) *might* this be evidence for federalism. There is indeed an early third-century epitaph from Kition which is quite clearly for 'Smyrnos, a Xanthian from Lycia' ([Ξά]νθιο[ς ἐκ] Λυκίης [Σ]μύρνος: *SEG* 40 1355); but it should be noted that Smyrnos is a 'Xanthian from Lycia', whilst Menandros son of Mynnion, the pankratiast mentioned in the Athenian inscription, is a 'Lycian from Gagai' (Μένανδρος Μυνν[ί]ωνος Λύκιος ἀπὸ Γαγῶν).[31] More persuasive is an inscription from Miletos (*I.Milet.* 46.7 = Princeton Miletos no. 148.7), where an individual named Skymnos son of Polemon is called a 'Lycian from Xanthos' ([Σκ]ύμνος Πολέμωνος Λύκιος ἀπὸ Ξάνθου). This repeats the formula of the Athenian description, and comes from a decree recording grants of

[27] Curty 1995 attempts to argue that συγγενεία is only used in the strict sense of consanguinity, but as Hall 1997: 97 points out, that does not properly work in this case where the relationship is based on the fact that Apollo, son of Leto who founded Xanthos, had seduced Koronis, daughter of Doris.

[28] πρεσβευταὶ Δωριεῖς ... παρακαλοῦσιν ἡμᾶς ἀναμνησθέντας τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὑπαρχούσης συγγενείας.

[29] Larsen 1945: 72. It is certainly evidence that Lycia was part of the 'mainstream' Hellenistic world: Treuber 1887: 149 n. 1.

[30] E.g. Kybernis at Hdt. 7.98 (p. 97), identified as Λύκιος. My colleague in the Copenhagen Polis Centre, Thomas Heine Neilsen, has pointed out that the ethnic for Arkadia, Ἀρκάς, is regularly used for periods when the Arkadian confederacy did not exist (e.g. Hdt. 6.127.3; Thuc. 5.49.1). Larsen himself admits (1957: 21ff.) that, when used of mercenaries, a phrase such as Λύκιος ο Ξανθίος does not necessarily carry any political significance; compare Ἀσκληπιάδης Λύκιος, attested in 252 (*P. Cairo Zeno* ii 5957.1-2; see Launey 1949: 462; Peremans, van't Dack 1950: no. 3846. For Lycian ethnics used outside Lycia, see now Zimmermann 1992b: 211-12 n. 55.

[31] Cf. Larsen 1945: 72-73

Milesian citizenship, with *Lykios* being treated with the same force as Μάγνης ('Magnesian', l. 3) and Ἐφεσίος ('Ephesian', l. 4). If this does imply the existence of a federal citizenship, and therefore the existence of the *koinon*,[32] it would push the *terminus ante quem* for the foundation of the League back to 212/11, the probable date of this grant of citizenship.[33] However, it remains uncertain as to whether that is a safe conclusion to draw, and in the meantime it is probably best to retain the first clear attestation of the *koinon*, *OGIS* 99, as the *terminus ante quem*.

Nonetheless, however one interprets that particular piece of evidence, the general weight supports the conclusion that the League did not come into existence until the end of the third century or the beginning of the second. If it occurred sometime before 212, then the League was a Ptolemaic-inspired institution,[34] to be seen in the context of Ptolemaic patronage of the Chrysaoric League and the League of Islanders (the Nesiotic League),[35] though both these Leagues have their origins rather earlier.[36] If not until sometime before 188, then this perhaps occurred in connection with the conquest of Lycia by Antiochos III in 197.[37]

From these origins the ultimate emergence in the Hellenistic period of a representative federal state, one that persisted into the Roman period, becomes quite understandable, even logical. For just as the leagues of mainland Greece came about as the best means of reconciling the traditional autonomy of the *polis* with the need to be able to survive in the face of the Hellenistic kingdoms, so the Lycian League could reconcile traditional Lycian nationhood with their new identity as citizens of *poleis*. It is therefore most unfortunate that the evolution of Lycian political forms cannot be traced through the early third century.

By the time of Cicero the process of Hellenization was so advanced that he could describe the Lycians in a matter-of-fact manner as 'a Greek people' (*Graeci homines*: *Verr.* 4.10 [21]). Yet the Lycian identity was not

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[32] So Moretti 1962: 189-90, accepted by Troxell 1982: 13, Zimmermann 1992b: 211-12 n. 55. Moretti 1962: 188-90 argues that there is an important difference between Λύκιος, which does not indicate a federal citizenship, and Λύκιος ἀπό ..., which does. Bryce 1986: 102 does not address this point.

[33] The inscription was originally dated to 206/5. See Wörrle 1988b for the arguments that lead to the earlier date, and Günther 1988: 412 for the actual dating.

[34] So Treuber 1887: 149; Moretti 1962: 190.

[35] Chrysaoric League: Bean 1980: 8-9, 15, 32, 39, 68, 162. Nesiotic League: *CAH*² VII, 48, 52, 54, 56, 92-93, 101, 108, 242, 315 n. 365, 443, & refs.

[36] The Nesiotic League was founded under the patronage either of Antigonos Monopthalmos in 315/4 or of Ptolemy I in 308 (*CAH*² VII, 48 & refs.). The Chrysaoric League is known to have been in existence by 267 at the latest (*ILabraunda* 43).

[37] Cf. Bean 1978: 27.

entirely swamped. The 'Gothic' style of sarcophagus tomb persisted right through into the Roman period.[38]

On the political side, the Lycian League lasted right through the Hellenistic period, and when Lycia became a Roman province in A.D. 43 (Suet. *Claud.* 25; Dio Cass. 60.17.3-4)[39] still provided the framework for local government; this is epigraphically attested in the third century A.D.,[40] and may well have lasted much longer. Today, when walking around the ruins even of a city such as Patara, where the remains are almost exclusively Roman,[41] the style of the funerary monuments make it quite clear to the visitor that this is a city of Lycia.

We start to lose sight of Lycia as the third century A.D. progresses, but something of a sense of glories lost is carried by a couple of lines from Ps.-Lucian's *Amores* (7),[42] a suitable point at which to end this work:

> ἑκάστῃ τῶν Λυκιακῶν πόλεων ἐπεξενούμεθα μύθοις τὰ πολλὰ χαίροντες· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐν αὐταῖς σαφὲς εὐδαιμονίας ὁρᾶται λείψανον.
>
> We visited each of the cities of Lycia, taking pleasure mostly in stories. For nothing remains to be seen clearly of their fortune.

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38 For Roman examples: İdil 1985: 28, 31, 35-36, 41-42, 50-56, 59-60, 62, 64, 67-71, 73-78, 81.

39 It has been believed, on the basis of Suet. *Vesp.* 8, that Lycia was freed briefly under Galba or Nero before being reincorporated under Vespasian (Larsen 1968: 247 n. 3; Bean 1978: 29), but Wörrle 1988: 97-98, has suggested that in fact Vespasian merely revised the *lex provinciae* and created the joint province of *Lycia et Pamphylia*; this act, Wörrle argues, misled Suetonius.

40 The latest certain reference is *IGR* iii 473, *c.* 200 A.D. (before 212); see Milner 1991: 42-46; *SEG* 41 1358. Three inscriptions from Lydae, *TAM* i 143 and 145, and Hicks 1889: no. 17, all mention the League, and may date to the period A.D. 250-300.

41 Bean 1978: 85-91; Önen 1990: 50-56.

42 I owe this reference to Prof. F.J. Williams.

APPENDIX ONE

LYCIAN TOMBS[1]

A typology of Lycian tombs

The tombs of Lycia have attracted scholarly attention ever since Lycia was 'rediscovered' by Westerners in the early nineteenth century, but particularly since the Second World War, through the work of French, German, Austrian, Danish and British archaeologists and art-historians.[2] The influence of Lycian tombs was considerable in antiquity; there is evidence for it on Cilician tombs.[3]

In the most thorough modern treatment of the tombs, Zahle lists approximately one thousand and eighty-five known examples. They are divided amongst four types: monumental or heroön-type tomb (six known); pillar tomb (35); Gothic sarcophagus[4] (60); and rock-cut house-tombs (about 950).[5] The earliest tombs are pillar tombs, dating to *c.* 540; house-tombs and sarcophagi seem to have appeared first in the mid-fifth century.[6] It can be safely said that these tombs largely represent a local phenomenon, only superficially touched by Iranian influences, which mainly impinged upon the iconography used in the late fifth and early fourth centuries.[7]

It seems likely that pillar tombs and heroa were marks of personal distinction.[8] The heroa known fall into two broad chronological groups; two are of the mid-fifth century, and the remainder belong to the period 390-360. The two fifth-century heroa seem curiously out of place, and it is argued below (pp. 186-89) that at least one of them, the so-called Building 'G' on the fifth-century acropolis at Xanthos, was not in fact the tomb of a historical personage at all, but a hero-cult centre; the other, a building at Apollonia,[9] may well have had a similar function,[10] though again it is usu-

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1 This appendix derives heavily from Keen 1992a, 1995 and 1996a.

2 This present treatment is in no way intended to be a comprehensive guide to the Lycian tombs, for which see Deltour-Levie 1982; Zahle 1983; Bruns-Özgan 1987; Jacobs 1989.

3 See Er 1991.

4 For the Lycian Gothic sarcophagus: Zahle 1983: 15-17.

5 See Zahle 1983 142-43 for the figures, made approximate by uncertainty about the exact number of house-tombs to be found at the site of Limyra.

6 Zahle 1983: 198.

7 On which cf. Shahbazi 1975; Borchhardt 1990b: 47.

8 Bryce 1991: 84.

9 Kjeldsen, Zahle 1976.

ally identified as a tomb of a historical personage, largely on the basis of parallels with Building G. The later heroa, genuine 'ruler-tombs' were a phenomenon of the early fourth century,[11] and probably a development of the pillar tombs. The earliest was the Nereid Monument (p. 147); the remaining three such tombs[12] were are response to this tomb,[13] claims by rulers in other cities to similar heroic qualities; in other words, a direct challenge to Erbbina's authority. The evolution of heroa is fairly easily deduced, from the genuine heroa of the mid-fifth century, influenced by both Greek architecture from the west and oriental tombs such as that of Cyrus at Pasargadai (p. 65).

It has long been believed that the pillar tombs were tombs of the ruling dynasts of Lycia.[14] However, the right to have oneself buried in a pillar tomb seems to have been a sign of political rank, rather than necessarily a sign of a rigid caste-system. It seems most likely that the pillars were tombs for individuals, rather than family tombs, simply on the grounds of the limited size of the burial chamber; therefore the other members of a pillar-owner's family must have been buried elsewhere. The use of the pillar as a method of burial began to wane in the early fourth century; there is a late fourth-century pillar from Hoiran,[15] but this is in many respects atypical, and seems more likely to be an imitation of Greek funerary stelae. In northern Lycia it is still possible to see beehives constructed on the top of wooden pillars,[16] and a link has been suggested between these and pillar tombs,[17] but this must be a case of the tombs (which may have been of wood before stone tombs became common; p. 184) influencing the shape of the beehives (if indeed there is any connection at all).

Though a number of sarcophagi are inscribed with the name of the owner (e.g. the sarcophagi of Pajawa [p. 171 n. 5] and Merehi[18] at Xanthos), none of these can be equated with names known from the coinage record. The sarcophagus subsequently became the universal method of burial in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. If Zahle's theories about the social divisions represented by the tomb typologies are correct (p. 182) it might perhaps be argued that the increased popularity of the sarcophagus was due to a more egalitarian atmosphere removing social barriers to such burials; but perhaps it rather represents an increasing Carian influence on

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10 Keen 1992a: 56 n. 19.
11 Keen 1992a: 54 & n. 8.
12 The Heroa of Limyra, Trysa and Phellos (pp. 158-59).
13 See Marksteiner 1993: 123.
14 Zahle 1980: 38; 1983: 32-33, 64-65, 107-11.
15 Deltour-Levie 1982: 41-49.
16 Mellink 1969: 290-99; Kjeldsen, Zahle 1975: 346.
17 Dinstl in *GHHIL*, 205 no.134.
18 Demargne 1974: 88-96, pls. xxi, xxxii, 46-53; İdil 1985: 81-82, pls. 85.2-85.4, 86.

Lycia. Sarcophagus tombs were probably symbols of social status; but perhaps symbols theoretically achievable by those lower down the social scale.

The rock-cut house-tombs[19] tremendously outnumber sarcophagi, by a factor of more than fifteen to one. Most house-tombs were cut into rock slopes, but there are some free-standing examples. There is, for instance, the 'Box Tomb', a tomb near the agora at Xanthos.[20] The façade of this monument is typical of the house-tomb, yet it is free-standing like a sarcophagus.[21] On the other hand, there are rock-cut tombs whose façades deliberately imitate sarcophagi; examples of these are to be found at Kyaneai, Myra and Pinara.[22]

These house tombs probably imitated the appearance of wooden Lycian houses, with stone reproductions of wooden architectural features.[23] It has been further pointed out that there are general links that can be made between the ancient Lycian tombs and modern wooden buildings.[24] The tombs often had benches inside, upon which the deceased would have rested.[25] It should also be noted that no tombs from Lycia have yielded any evidence for the practice of cremation.

It is not unlikely that originally house tombs would have been at least partially of wood, which makes it quite possible that pillars were the same. However, one must not assume that all the pre-Persian pillars were of wood, since it is known that at least one stone pillar, the Pillar of the Wrestlers, has subsequently disappeared, and there is no reason why there should not have been other stone pillars of the pre-Persian dynasty which have also perished; but there is no evidence for them as yet.

House-tombs eventually evolved in western and particularly north-western Lycia into 'temple tombs',[26] of which the most famous example is the 'Tomb of Amyntas' from Telemessos;[27] there are other examples from Telemessos,[28] and they are also found in Daidala, Tlos and Kyaneai (the 'Ionic Tomb').[29] Kaunos has very similar tombs.[30] It is worth noting that Kaunos, Daidala and Telemessos are all in the culturally different Lycio-

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19 For house tombs, see Zahle 1983: 17-22.

20 Demargne 1974: 21-24, pls. ii-v, 1-2; Önen 1990: 35 pl. 40.

21 Another similar example is illustrated as a 'tomb above Finike' in Stark 1958a (note that the 1991 printing does not include the plates).

22 Kyaneai: Bean 1978: 111, pl. 58; Myra: Zahle 1983: pl. 7; Pinara: Bean 1978: 77, pl. 34.

23 Metzger 1963: 61; Bernard 1965: 262; Schulz 1990b.

24 See Mellink 1969b.

25 E.g. the so-called 'Royal Tomb' at Pinara: Bean 1978: 77. There are also such benches inside the Nereid Monument (Demargne 1981: 587; 1987: 190; Childs, Demargne 1989: 253).

26 Bean 1980: 147.

27 Bean 1978: 40, pl. 2; Önen 1990: 3 pl. 2.

28 Bean 1978: pl. 3.

29 Daidala: Bean 1978: 35, pl. 1; Tlos: Önen 1990: 13, pl. 12; Kyaneai: Bean 1978: 111, pl. 59; Zahle 1983: 19, 20, 114, pl. 8.

30 Roos 1972: 95; Bean 1980: 146-47.

Carian border region. Furthermore, the style of letters in the Greek inscription on the Amyntas tomb (*TAM* ii 30) identifies it as belonging to the fourth century,[31] and the name, common in Macedon but not, it seems, often found elsewhere before Alexander's conquests, suggests that the tomb is post-333, supported by the fact that its inscription is in Greek alone; all pre-Hellenistic Greek inscriptions in Lycia are found on bilinguals. The Kaunian tombs are also supposedly fourth-century in date,[32] and it would not be altogether surprising if the other examples also turned out to be very late fourth-century (particularly as the Ionic Tomb also carries an inscription in Greek only).

Roos suggests that the temple tomb was an *andron* or treasury,[33] but one might compare the evidence for tomb cult (p. 210). In any case, it is clear that the late fourth century temple tombs were influence by the later heroa. There may also be a strong influence from tomb architecture in Phrygia.[34] The house-tomb virtually disappeared in the Hellenistic age, though some later examples have recently been found.

Many sarcophagi were adorned with relief sculpture; most house-tombs were not. But this is not a universal rule. A few house-tombs, such as the 'Painted Tomb' at Myra,[35] were decorated to a very high standard, whilst a number of sarcophagi were unadorned (as indeed were some pillars, e.g. the Acropolis Pillar at Xanthos).[36] Three sarcophagi at Pinara, for instance, carry no relief sculpture,[37] yet a house-tomb there, the 'Royal Tomb' does.[38]

A minority[39] of Lycian tombs carry inscriptions; no more than a dozen or so of these are sarcophagi. One of the things that these reveal is that most were prepared by the owners whilst they were still alive.[40] It is also apparent that many Lycian house-tombs were tombs for families, for the owner and his household and children.[41] There are only seven occasions when such inscriptions are found on sarcophagi (*TAM* i 11.1-2; 23.7-8; 29.2 [post-333];[42] 36.5-6; 117.3-4, 7-8; 143.2-3), two of these, incidentally,

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31 Bean 1978: 40.

32 Bean 1980: 147.

33 Roos 1972: 95 n. 23.

34 Compare the examples in Akurgal 1955: pls. 36-43. For Phrygian influences on tombs see Akurgal 1955: 88-93.

35 Bean 1978: 123-24, pls. 72-6; Önen 1990: 92 pl. 96.

36 Demargne 1958: 113-16, pls. 49-51; Bean 1978: 60, pl. 18; Deltour-Levie 1982: 168-70; Önen 1990: 437 pl. 42.

37 İdil 1985: 61-62.

38 Bean 1978: 76-77.

39 Bryce 1986: 50.

40 For a representative selection of such inscriptions: Bryce 1986: 71-88.

41 E.g. *TAM* i 3.3; 4.3; 6.2 & 5-6; 7.3; 56.2 & 6; 61.1; 84.2; 88.2; 101.2; 102.1-2; 107.*a*.1; 108.2-3; 139.2-3; N 322.

42 So dated from the reference to Alexander at l. 9.

from the same city, Limyra (*TAM* i 117, 143); three of them also carry Greek inscriptions (*TAM* i 23, 117, 143), which may or may not be significant.

The Heroön of Sarpedon at Xanthos[43]

According to Homer (*Il.* 16.681-83), Sarpedon was buried at Xanthos. His tomb was sufficiently famous for Aeschylus to have heard of it, and to refer to it fleetingly in the *Suppliants* (869-70; p. 6)[44] as being on the sea-route from Egypt to Argos. Aristotle in the *Peplos* (Arist. fr. 641.58 Rose) records that Sarpedon on his death was brought back to Lycia and buried at Xanthos. Reinforcing Homer, a scholiast on the *Iliad* (Σ Hom. *Il.* 16.673*b* Erbse) says that there was a heroön of Sarpedon in Lycia; the scholiast is possibly following the practice of a number of other ancient authors (p. 58) by using 'Xanthos' and 'Lycia' as if they were interchangeable. Monro comments on 16.666-83 that "it seems by no means improbable that these two passages [the other being 16.432-58] were interpolated in order to bring the Homeric story of Sarpedon into harmony with local legend";[45] if so that suggests that local legend believed Sarpedon to have been buried at Xanthos.

The most important reference, however, for locating the building is a mention in Appian (*B Civ.* 4.10.78-79), which mentions a 'Sarpedoneion' and establishes beyond doubt that it was at Xanthos. In 42 some soldiers of Brutus, attempting to storm Xanthos, fought their way through to the agora. Finding themselves outnumbered there, they retreated to the Sarpedoneion. A crucial detail Appian supplies is that the Romans did this 'so that they would not be surrounded' (ἵνα μὴ κυκλωθεῖεν, 4.10.78). When later (4.10.79) the remainder of the Roman forces successfully breached the defences of Xanthos, they came to the relief of the troops trapped at the Sarpedoneion.[46]

From these details a few guesses might be made about the possible location of the Sarpedoneion. Since the Romans made a retreat under attack from the agora, they probably did not go far. Moreover, the fact that they retreated to the Sarpedoneion in order not to be surrounded suggests that the topography of the site made this impossible. A cliff-top location might

43 This section is based upon Keen 1996a (the ideas were first put forward in Keen 1992a: 54-56).

44 Tucker 1889: 167 and Johansen, Whittle 1980: III, 202-03 *ad loc.* suggest that Aeschylus means the Σαρπηδονία ἀκτή, a headland in Cilicia (Str. 14.5.4); but this seems unlikely in the light of other references to the tomb; see now Keen 1996b.

45 Monro 1893: 319.

46 For other references to the Sarpedoneion see Zwicker 1921: 41. See Syme 1995: 283.

well fit such topographic requirements; if so, it was a particularly inaccessible cliff-top, since Oinoandan allies of Brutus got into Xanthos by scaling the cliffs somewhere in the city (App. *B Civ.* 4.10.79), but did not immediately make contact with the trapped Romans.

The most likely location for such an important building is on the acropolis.[47] One building here fits the topographic requirements for the Sarpedoneion very well. Building G[48] sits on the edge of the most precipitous face of the cliffs of the Lycian acropolis, overlooking the river Xanthos below,[49] in even more of a commanding position than the Nereid Monument; such an impressive location, visible for some considerable distance across the valley, would be an obvious one for an important monument such as the Sarpedoneion. Moreover, Building G is in the middle of its own precinct;[50] an open space such as this would be an attractive retreat for Roman soldiers, who preferred fighting in the open rather than in narrow streets.

When this monument, which has been dated to *c.* 460,[51] was first published, it was indeed suggested by Metzger that it was a heroön or temple, though without making any suggestion as to whose heroön it might be.[52] Since then, however, scholarship has tended to the view that this monument was the tomb of a fifth-century Lycian dynast,[53] a possibility Metzger admits cannot be ruled out due to the funerary imagery on the reliefs associated with the building.[54] If this is the case, then it almost certainly was the tomb of the Lycian king Kuprlli.[55]

There are, however, reasons for doubting this attribution. First of all, there are two other monuments in the immediate vicinity, Buildings 'F' and 'H',[56] which are likely to have been part of the same programme of construction.[57] Metzger points out that if Building G was a tomb, then

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47 There are two important cult precincts on the acropolis at Athens, one of which, of course, is the Erechtheion.

48 Metzger 1963: 49-61.

49 Metzger 1963: pl. xxxii.1.

50 Metzger 1963: 49-50.

51 Metzger 1963: 60-61.

52 Metzger 1963: 61.

53 Childs 1978: 5; Zahle 1980: 40 (not directly referring to Building G, but saying that Xanthos has two monumental ruler-tombs; Building G and the Nereid Monument must be meant); Bruns-Özgan 1987: 209.

54 Metzger 1963: 61.

55 Keen 1992a: 56 n. 19. The absence of an identifying inscription on Building G proves nothing either way, as the Inscribed Pillar is the only Classical-period monument in Xanthos to carry any significant epigraphy. It may have originally had an inscription in some precious metal (most likely bronze) that has long since disappeared.

56 Building F: Metzger 1963: 71-75; Building H: Metzger 1963: 63-69. Childs 1978: 5, seemingly misinterpreting Metzger 1963: 61, believes all three buildings, F, G and H, to be rebuilt tombs of sixth-century dynasts.

57 Metzger 1963: 49.

Buildings F and H must also have been tombs; it is odd that three tombs should be built in this part of the acropolis when two other certain dynastic tombs, the Harpy Tomb which predates Building G (p. 89) and the Inscribed Pillar which postdates it (p. 9 & n. 71), were built in a different area of the acropolis. If F, G and H were tombs, some reason must be found for their being given special attention.

Moreover, when heroa that certainly were ruler-tombs reappeared in the fourth century, they rapidly displaced pillars; it seems odd that this did not happen as a result of the appearance of Building G.[58] In fact, the Inscribed Pillar, within sight of Building G, even has an inscription saying that 'no-one of the Lycians ever set up such a stele' ([o]ὐδείς πω Λυκίων στήλην τοιάνδε ἀνέθηκ<ε>ν: *SEG* 42 1245.2 = *TAM* i 44.*c*.21). Whilst it is true that this line refers to a stele and not to a monument, the grandiloquent style might well imply that no Lycian ruler ever had so impressive a monument erected to himself. From Coupel's reconstructions of the monuments concerned[59] it is clear that Building G was at least as impressive a monument as the Inscribed Pillar, so the claim of the epigram would seem to be perhaps disputable if Building G was in truth a dynastic tomb.

Admittedly the date of Building G is a problem for its identification as a major cult centre. It is almost certain that Xanthos would have had a Sarpedoneion long before *c.* 460. It is possible, however, that Building G and its associated monuments were built on the sites of previously existing monuments; this is suggested by Metzger on the grounds of pre-470 pottery fragments, notably a fragment of a Rhodian pithos and reliefs of the Ialysos type, found around Buildings G and F, which might indicate a pre-470 building underneath.[60] There is evidence that the acropolis at Xanthos was destroyed by fire *c.* 470 (p. 105); the Sarpedoneion would be a prime candidate for rapid rebuilding. No foundations of any earlier buildings have been found, however, and Metzger admits that the distribution of the potsherds could be due to some disturbance caused by a later development of the site; for instance the Byzantine levelling.[61]

There is also the problem of the funerary imagery (if it is funerary; p. 190), which suggests a tomb. This, however, should not be surprising; one might well expect that a hero-cult centre would claim to be that hero's actual tomb. The tradition of Sarpedon's burial at Xanthos (p. 186) may well

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[58] Metzger 1963: 61.

[59] Building G: Coupel in Metzger 1963: figs. 12-16, 28; Inscribed Pillar: Demargne, Coupel 1963: fig. 4.

[60] Metzger 1963: 60, 75.

[61] It is an interesting question why these buildings should have been levelled whilst other monuments, such as the Harpy Tomb and Inscribed Pillar, remained standing; see Keen 1992a: 55. Childs 1978: 5 takes the buildings' survival till the Byzantine period as a sign that they were reverenced, but neglects to mention that most of the pillars survived longer.

originate in a monument there that claimed to be his tomb. It is notable that objects found in the vicinity of Building H suggest that deposits were made there for at least two centuries,[62] and therefore some use was made of the building.

Finally, if Building G was not the tomb of a historical figure, then the attribution of known Xanthian rulers to known dynastic tombs at Xanthos becomes considerably easier.[63] This, however, is a circular argument.

Nonetheless, whilst all the above does not disprove the notion that Building G was a tomb, it does demonstrate that it cannot automatically be assumed to have been such. A much safer assertion is that the Sarpedoneion known to have been at Xanthos is likely to have been on the Lycian acropolis, and that Building G is by far the most likely candidate to be this heroön. As Metzger suggests,[64] it probably replaced an earlier building destroyed in the fire of *c*. 470.[65]

What of Buildings F and H, the two associated buildings in the precinct? It has been suggested by Metzger that offerings were made at Building F.[66] Perhaps then Buildings F and H were subsidiary cult buildings, associated with other heroes. There are a number of candidates, of whom the most likely is Sarpedon's friend, Glaukos; but it would be appropriate for any of the other Lycian heroes (pp. 210-12) to have cult buildings at Xanthos subsidiary to that of Sarpedon, since their main cult centres seem to have been elsewhere.

The reliefs of these buildings, however, have none of the funerary nature of those of Building G. No trace has been found of the reliefs of Buildings F and H beyond decorated gables,[67] and they may never have carried any further reliefs. These buildings may simply be treasuries associated with the cult.

Turning to the Sarpedoneion itself, if Building G is to be so identified, it must first be said that the reconstruction put forward by Metzger and Coupel[68] is very speculative, as the building was thoroughly demolished in the Byzantine period. If, however, the reconstruction is assumed to be reasonably accurate,[69] the Sarpedoneion was unlike the later heroa, which took their architectural form from Classical Greek temples, in being set

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[62] Metzger 1963: 69.

[63] See Keen 1992a for an attempt at such an attribution.

[64] Metzger 1963: 61.

[65] It is interesting that the date of the construction of this monument, the 460s, coincides with the production of Aeschylus' *Suppliants*, where the tomb is mentioned (Keen 1996b: 287-88). This would be particularly noteworthy if the Athenians under Kimon were responsible for the burning of the acropolis (p. 105).

[66] Metzger 1963: 75.

[67] Metzger 1963: 66, 71-72; Bruns-Özgan 1987: 23.

[68] Metzger 1963: figs. 11-17, 28; revised in Coupel, Metzger 1976: 247-64.

[69] It has been questioned by Bernard 1965. Bruns-Özgan 1987: 21 notes that it is not secure.

upon a podium. The Sarpedoneion instead resembled very closely other Lycian tombs, in particular the house-tomb type.[70] The connection between the hero Sarpedon and the living Lycians is made even stronger by the link between tombs and Lycian houses (p. 184).

Perhaps more curious is the choice of iconography. Metzger proposes that the monument had two main friezes, one on the exterior, depicting a funerary cortège,[71] and one on the interior depicting a funerary banquet.[72] It has already been noted that a funerary motif might not necessarily be surprising on a cult building that would claim to be the actual tomb of Sarpedon. There are interesting parallels with the painted murals from the near-contemporary tomb of Karaburun II,[73] which depict a cortège and banquet. The funerary banquet itself was quite a common motif throughout Asia Minor,[74] whilst the procession motif has definite parallels in the Graeco-Persian art of Daskyleion in Hellespontine Phrygia[75] and has other parallels in Lycia and elsewhere.[76] In connection with the banquet, there may have been stone benches inside the tomb, as there were in other tombs (p. 184).

It has, however, been argued that the procession is not funerary at all, but instead depicts a departure for a hunt,[77] and this suggestion has also been made for the processional murals from Karaburun II.[78] Such non-funerary processions are not unknown on Lycian tombs; for instance, the processions on the Limyra Heroön.[79] This would connect the main reliefs with the lower frieze and those of the podium upon which the monument stood. These did not depict any sort of funerary motif at all; instead cocks and hens were depicted on the lower frieze,[80] and a scene of fighting animals on the podium.[81] The fighting-animal motif recurs on a number of later Lycian monuments.[82] Mellink has noted the possible link between the

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[70] Metzger 1963: 60-61.

[71] Metzger 1963: 61; Coupel, Metzger 1969: 225-28; Metzger 1971: 509, 513-14; 1975: 209 n. 2, 213; Childs 1978: 9; Bruns-Özgan 1987: 207-08, where a full discussion of the motif can be found.

[72] Metzger 1963; 57, 61.

[73] Mellink 1971: 251-54; 1974: 356-59.

[74] Dentzer 1969, and see Murray 1988: 254.

[75] Metzger 1975: 212; Jacobs 1987: 49-51, who further links the motif with the Apadana reliefs from Persepolis. Cf. also Metzger 1971: 516 no. 4.

[76] Borchhardt 1968: 171-86, 210; Metzger 1971: 510; 1975: 213; Fleischer 1983: 44-54; Bruns-Özgan 1987: 207.

[77] Bernard 1965: 279-88; Jacobs 1987: 50.

[78] Cited by Mellink 1974: 357, though Mellink prefers a funerary interpretation.

[79] Metzger 1975: 215, 216; Borchhardt 1976: 49-80; see also Borchhardt 1968: 163-71.

[80] Illustrated at Metzger 1963: fig. 26, though assigned at that time to Building F; since rejected by Bernard 1965: 263-64, and Coupel, Metzger 1976: 248, who all associate it with Building G, though Bernard places the frieze on the podium, not on the building itself.

[81] Metzger 1963: pl. xxxiii.1; Bruns-Özgan 1987: 21.

[82] Jacobs 1987: 51-52.

two sets of reliefs, and suggests that they may reflect a local tradition;[83] compare the importance given in dynastic ideology to hunting (p. 52). It is worth noting, however, that Etruscan tombs often depicted scenes of hunting,[84] so the motif of a hunt may be, by association, funerary after all. There are also the remains of some female statues found on the acropolis, which it has been suggested should be associated with this monument;[85] presumably they would be the 'Dancing Women' (pp. 204-06).

What is perhaps most worthy of comment, if this monument is the Sarpedoneion, is that nowhere on the reliefs are there the sort of martial scenes that decorate later heroa such as the Nereid Monument[86] or especially the Heroön of Trysa,[87] which displays Homeric imagery (e.g. scenes from the *Iliad* and a depiction of the return of Odysseus and the killing of the Suitors).[88] There was no doubt a great fund of stories to draw on for artistic inspiration, even if the fifth-century rulers of Xanthos had little familiarity with the poems of Homer (which is probably in fact not the case). Sarpedon himself is not identifiable on the reliefs.[89]

This is typical of the Lycians, to combine elements of east and west with other distinctly Lycian traits, in this case the imitation of the Lycian house (though it should not necessarily be inferred that there was a conscious decision to make such a combination).

Whilst it cannot be positively proved that Building G on the Lycian acropolis at Xanthos was the Sarpedoneion, it is a hypothesis that has many attractions. If accepted, it is clear that the site of the Sarpedoneion had been sacred ground for some considerable time, as there was probably a monument there in the sixth century; it may well be that originally this was the site of the tomb of some Lycian leader of the Bronze Age or Iron Age.[90] When the original building was destroyed the cult-centre was rebuilt in the 460s, almost certainly by the Lycian king Kuprlli. In this regard, it is worth noting that Mørkholm and Zahle have connected the carving of the sphinx heads on the gables of Building H with the depiction of a female head on a series of coins of this period.[91]

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[83] Mellink 1974: 358.

[84] See e.g. Bonfante 1986: 260.

[85] Metzger 1963: 51, who places them on the terrace of Building G; Bruns-Özgan 1987: 23.

[86] Childs, Demargne 1989: *passim*.

[87] Benndorf, Niemann 1889: *passim*; Oberleitner 1990: 71-74; Oberleitner 1994: *passim*.

[88] This is depicted on the upper frieze on the inner side of the south wall of the precinct of the heroön, to the west of the entrance. See generally Oberleitner 1990: 73. Note also the various depictions of Bellerophon mentioned below (p. 212).

[89] Fleischer 1983: 49-51, suggests that the tomb-owner may often be depicted amongst the members of the cortège in procession reliefs.

[90] For Classical and post-Classical cults at Bronze Age tomb sites in Greece, see Alcock 1991.

[91] Mørkholm, Zahle 1976: 72.

The reasons for the form of the monument that Kuprlli built, and the political statement that he surely wished to make with it, lie in the internal history of Lycia in the early fifth century, for which there is not enough information, but it may be connected with Lycia's shift in allegiance from the Persian empire to the Delian League, which occurred about this time (pp. 97-107). Whatever the cause, Kuprlli chose to emphasize not the heroic achievements of Sarpedon, but his connection with the Lycian people.

APPENDIX TWO

LYCIAN CULTS

1 *Introduction*

To provide any sort of comprehensive view of the religious cults of Lycia is an impossible task,[1] due to the nature of the evidence that is available. Compared to the amount to be had for interpreting, for instance, Athenian religious practices, that available for Lycia is minimal. At least one religious decree does exist (the Letoön Trilingual; p. 10), and others may be extant but not yet identified as such.[2] Moreover, often epigraphic material from the period with which we are concerned today is in the native Lycian language, which remains only partially understood. The scholar is left to piece together the scraps of material into a rather speculative wider picture. Little is known, for instance, about the role of the Lycian rulers in their religion, though there does seems to be evidence for one Lycian 'king' officiating at sacrifices (*TAM* i 44),[3] and another made dedications in the national sanctuary of the Lycians at the Letoön (*SEG* 28 1245). Nor is much known about the actual cult practices of Lycia (with the exception of that of the Basileus Kaunios known from the Letoön Trilingual).

It seems reasonable to assume that in origin their religious traditions derived from the same source as other Anatolian peoples, and so it proves. However, as with all other aspects of Lycian life, progressively through the period with which this work deals an increased Greek influence came to be exerted upon the religious traditions of the Lycians. Lycian deities were progressively assimilated to Greek gods and goddesses.[4] The acceleration of this absorption by the conquests of Alexander means that one can never be sure, particularly about late Hellenistic and Roman religious practices, how much they represented earlier customs, or whether Greek influences altered native practice beyond all recognition, or perhaps even imported a

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[1] As pointed out by Le Roy 1990: 41.

[2] E.g. *TAM* i 65 (mid-fourth century), which Bryce 1986: 89 suggests may deal with religious rites, following Sokolowski 1955: 174-75 no. 76; *TAM* i 26 may also be a religious decree (see Laroche 1979: 80).

[3] See Bryce 1996: 45.

[4] Bryce 1996: 44 suggests that the earliest appearances of Greek deities on Lycian coinage in the fifth century may simply be artistic motifs, with no necessary implication of identification of Lycian deities with Greek this early.

Greek practice wholesale.[5] What this does mean is that in the study of Classical Lycia, there is a fine opportunity, if some form of reconstruction can be attempted, of examining the process by which an Anatolian religious system was assimilated to the Olympian deities.

This does not mean that one should necessarily view Lycian religion as in any way organized or systematized on a country-wide basis. Though there was a degree of cultural and political unity in Lycia, one must not assume that this means the same deities would be honoured throughout the land.

It must finally be pointed out, as a last word of introduction, that this appendix can be no more than a preliminary study. There is, as has already been said, much that is unknown about the Lycians, and new discoveries continue to be made. So for instance, Fraser in 1977 stated in *Rhodian Funerary Monuments* that "the humble persons denominated as 'heroes' certainly did not receive elaborate public festivals",[6] a pronouncement accepted by a paper published as recently as 1996.[7] Yet the very next year after Fraser's pronouncement, Robert published an inscription,[8] unfortunately undatable but certainly not to be placed much before *c.* 200, since it mentions the Lycian *koinon*, which did not exist much before that date (p. 178-80). This inscription demonstrated quite clearly that there were games in Xanthos at the Sarpedoneia, certainly a festival in honour of the Lycian hero Sarpedon. So it may well be that the picture of Lycian religious practices will change quickly as new inscriptions are unearthed through excavation.

With this in mind, it is possible to look at certain aspects of the religion of Lycia. It should be pointed out, however, that this survey is in no way meant to be comprehensive; rather it is an examination of some of the most important and interesting deities and cults. For a comprehensive account, one should consult the chapter on "Gods and Oracles" from Bryce, or the listing of gods by Frei.[9]

2 *Leto and her children*

By far the most important sanctuary in Lycia was that of Leto, the so-called Letoön, in the territory of Xanthos. This lies some distance inland

[5] Though Bryce 1996: 43 does note that religious practices are amongst the most conservative in any society, and so most likely to reach back into the Dynastic period.

[6] Fraser 1977: 77.

[7] Keen 1996a: 231 n. 13 (*mea culpa*!).

[8] Robert 1978: 33-34; *SEG* 28 1248.

[9] Bryce 1986: 172-201; Frei 1990b. For other more detailed studies, see Laroche 1980: 1-6; and Le Roy 1990: 41-44.

nowadays, but was clearly much closer to the shoreline in antiquity; Strabo places it ten stades from the mouth of the river Xanthos, and it was probably even closer to the sea. Here Leto was the prime deity worshipped (N 320.*a*.38), but almost equal prominence was given, at least in the later period, to her twin children Apollo and Artemis. In the Hellenistic period, two enormous Doric temples were erected to Leto (*c.* 175-150) and Apollo (*c.* 150-100),[10] either side of a fourth-century temple which was probably that of Artemis (provisionally identified by a bilingual dedication found there).[11] Both the temple of Apollo and that of Leto were built on top of earlier buildings; the presence of a temple of Leto in the Letoön is further indicated on an inscription in honour of Erbbina (*SEG* 39 1414.27).

The sanctuary is undoubtedly of great antiquity. Archaeological evidence takes it back at least to the sixth century, and possibly to the seventh.[12] Moreover, Lycian inscriptions from the site and elsewhere identify the chief goddess as Ẽni Mahanahi (*TAM* i 134.4) or Ẽni Qlahi Ebijehi.[13] The former means 'Mother of the gods', and the latter means 'Mother of this sanctuary', which seems to be a term specific to the Letoön. The former name is also more-or-less a straight transcription from Luwian into Lycian of Anniš Maššanaššis,[14] the name of the Anatolian mother-goddess, the same goddess who became Cybele further west (e.g. in Sardis), and Artemis at Ephesos.[15] It seems very likely, therefore, that the sanctuary at the Letoön dates back to the second millennium, and was originally the cult centre of Anniš Maššanaššis.[16]

How Leto became associated with this cult is unclear.[17] The mythological story of her arrival in Lycia, having given birth to Apollo and Artemis, and pursued by a jealous Hera, is best known from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (6.316-81), but the second century A.D. writer Antoninus Liberalis (*Met.* 35), who records a slightly but not significantly different version, cites as one of his sources Menecrates (F 2). The earliest reference to Leto in con-

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[10] Bean 1978: 61-62.

[11] N 312; Greek text published as *SEG* 42 1246.

[12] Sixth century: Metzger *et al.* 1979: 26-28; Metzger 1992: 10, 15; Bourgarel, Metzger 1992a: 21. For the possibility of seventh-century construction, or at least influences, cf. Bourgarel, Metzger 1992a: 22-23.

[13] *TAM* i 26.24; 56.4; 65.24; 94.3; 102.3; 110.4-5; 112.5-6; 131.3; 145.4; and most importantly, N 320.38, an inscription from the Letoön. For the epithet *Pñtrẽñnehi* occasionally applied to Ẽni Qlahi Ebijehi, see p. 212 n. 156.

[14] Laroche 1958: 190; cf. 1980: 1, 3.

[15] See now Klengel-Brandt 1993: 61-62.

[16] Mellink 1995a: 37 suggests that a sanctuary across the Siyanti River mentioned in a treaty of Muršili II (see Friedrich 1930: 116-17).

[17] Bryce's attempt (1986: 176-77; 1996: 46 n. 16) to derive some information from the legend of Syessa, an old woman supposed to have given shelter to Leto (St. Byz. 590.1-2 *s.v.* Σύεσσα) may be overly optimistic, though the name is reminiscent of Maššanaššis. See also *RE s.v.*

nection with Lycia that can be roughly dated, however, comes from the dedicatory inscription put up in the Letoön by Erbbina in the early fourth century (*SEG* 39 1414), in which Apollo is also mentioned, though Pythian Apollo rather than Lycian (ll. 8-9).[18]

There is, however, a reference in a slightly earlier Lycian inscription which may, according to a conjectural interpretation, be to a Lycian version of the name Leto (*TAM* i 44.*b*.61),[19] though Bryce's suggestion that this might indicate a cult of Leto *separate* from that of Ẽni Mahanahi/Ẽni Qlahi Ebijehi[20] is unjustified. It may be suggested[21] that Leto became associated with the Lycian sanctuary through the similarity between her name and the Lycian word *lada*, which means 'wife' or 'lady'.[22] This is possible, but there appears to be no Lycian inscription where the term *lada* is applied to Leto or Ẽni Mahanahi/Ẽni Qlahi Ebijehi.

The triad of Leto, Apollo and Artemis is mentioned on the Letoön Trilingual—but explicity only in the Aramaic version of the text. The Greek and Lycian versions mention only Leto 'and her children'. Bryce suggested in the early 1980s that the association of Leto with this sanctuary, and the close association with Apollo and Artemis, came about in the fourth century, promoted by the kings of Lycia at Xanthos,[23] but it is perhaps necessary to cast doubt upon this. For one thing, for reasons that will be stated below, it seems that Bryce is too firm when he says "Apollo ... had no place amongst the deities worshipped in Lycia prior to the 4th century".[24]

What is not in dispute is the importance of the sanctuary in Lycia. In the late Hellenistic period, by the time the Lycian League had been founded *c.* 200, the Letoön was the national sanctuary of Lycia, the official sanctuary of the League,[25] and Leto and her children were πατρῷοι θεοί (*TAM* ii 496). It seems more than likely that this status dated back to long before the existence of the League.[26] Not only did Antiochos III in 190 dedicate the entire city of Xanthos to Leto, Apollo, and Artemis, but in 279

[18] An interesting point about this inscription is that Erbbina appears to have sent to Greece for a priest for the cult; l. 28 (see Bryce 1996: 46).

[19] With Laroche 1979: 114; 1980: 3-4. Compare the interpretation of N 306.4 and 309.*c*.4 given by Gusmani 1963: 289-92 and accepted by N, p. 25, and also note *zeusi*, the alternative Greek-derived version of Trqqas (p. 202).

[20] Bryce 1986: 176.

[21] Cf. Bean 1978: 61.

[22] Melchert 1993a: 37.

[23] Bryce 1983a. In 1996: 45 he suggest that the association of Ẽni Mahanahi/Ẽni Qlahi Ebijehi with Leto came about because of the association of Apollo with south-western Anatolia in general and Lycia in particular.

[24] Bryce 1983a: 11.

[25] Bean 1978: 61; Bryce 1983a: 12; 1986: 172.

[26] Bryce 1983a: 12; 1986: 172. Cf. Funke 1997 on the importance of the Aetolian religious centre at Thermos before the federal state there emerged.

the citizens of Telemessos, passing a decree, indicated that a copy of the decree would be erected 'in the temple of Apollo and Artemis and Leto' (εἰς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν καὶ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ τῆς Λητοῦς, *SEG* 28 1224.43-4). This may possibly be a reference to the Letoön, though it might equally well be to a temple of the three gods in Telemessos; there is certainly other evidence from the third century for a shrine of Artemis in Telemessos, and it must be noted that many Telemessian decrees make provision for a copy to be placed in this temple.[27] More significantly for the purposes of this paper is the fact that Leto was referred to in the Classical period as 'Mother of this sanctuary' not only in inscriptions from the Letoön itself, but also in fourth-century Lycian inscriptions from Antiphellos (*TAM* i 56.4), Myra (94.3) and Limyra (102.3, 110.3-5, 112.6 [incomplete], 131.3-4, 145.4 [incomplete]), and possibly also Isinda (65.24 [damaged]).

The position of Apollo is slightly odd in regard to Lycia. It is true that there seem to be no direct references to Apollo in Lycian inscriptions (though there are some debatable allusions which shall be discussed later). Even the famous oracle at Patara, mentioned by Herodotus (1.182), is not actually associated with Apollo in surviving sources before the second century (Alex. Polyh. F 131 *ap.* Steph. Byz. 511.1-3 *s.v.* Πάταρα),[28] but on the other hand an Apolline association is not excluded.[29] There is a definite reference to a temple of Apollo in the *Rhesus* (224-25) that is traditionally attributed to Euripides,[30] and another mention of one on the banks of the river Xanthos in Diodorus (5.55-56),[31] in a mythological context.

On the other hand, there are external references from Greek sources that associate Apollo with Lycia, some placing his birth by the river Xanthos, rather than the more common location of Delos. This is not attested in literature before the fourth-century A.D. epic poet Quintus Smyrnaeus (11.21-24),[32] but it is clearly stated in the Xanthian reply to the Kytenian

27 Cf. *TAM* ii 1 (= *OGIS* 55) 36-38, 2.17-19; Segre 1993: ED 56.10-11.

28 Bryce 1986: 184.

29 I do not regard as significant in this context the fact that Erbbina in the early fourth century consulted the Pythian Apollo (*SEG* 39 1414.8-9), which merely shows that Erbbina was trying to place himself in the mainstream of Hellenic culture (cf. Georges 1994: 26-29 on Lydian patronage of Delphi), nor does the probability that Patara was of only local significance at this time exclude an Apolline connection (*pace* Bryce 1986: 195). Apollo is associated with later foundation myths of Patara (Steph. Byz. 510.17-511.14 *s.v.* Πάταρα; Verg. *Aen.* 3.332), and see Bean 1978: 82-83.

30 Bryce 1990-1991: 144-49 attempts to use this mention to prove a fourth-century date for the *Rhesus*, but see the criticisms of his approach below.

31 Bryce 1990-1991: 146 associates this reference with the later temple of Apollo at Patara (cf. Metzger 1966: 101).

32 It is not followed by Antoninus Liberalis (*Met.* 35.1), but this does not necessarily mean that Menecrates (F 2.1), whom Antoninus cites, rejected it, since he also cites Nicander of Colophon (F 23), and it cannot be certain which aspects of the story he is taking from which author.

embassy in 206/5 (*SEG* 38 1476.18-19) that Apollo and Artemis were born in Lycia.[33]

Homer twice gives Apollo the epithet Λυκηγενής (*Il.* 4.101, 119), which may or may not mean 'born in Lycia'.[34] It was certainly interpreted thus by Hesychius (λ 1379 *s.v.* Λυκηγενέι), followed by some modern scholars,[35] but alternate explanations have been provided for the epithet, usually deriving it from the word λύκος meaning 'wolf', thus 'wolf-born',[36] which finds support in Aelian (*NA* 5.26; cf. Arist. *Hist. an.* 580a [6.35]) or 'light-born', which is supported by Macrobius (*Sat.* 5.17.36-41).[37] It seems often to be assumed by those who support 'wolf-born' that Apollo's identification with Lycia followed as a result of that with wolves, an assumption which is probably to be explained by a belief, to quote Leaf, that "it is not improbable that the name Lykia is itself derived from the title of the god".[38] But it has already been noted (p. 30) that Greek etymologies for *Lykia* are false. It may, in that case, be suspected that the association of Apollo with wolves and the inclusion of wolves in the story of Leto's giving birth to Apollo and Artemis (Arist. *Hist. an.* 580a [6.35]; Ant. Lib. *Met.* 35)—in itself quite bizarre—came after this association with Lycia, rather than before.[39] As far as 'light-born' is concerned, one can see the connection between Apollo and light (though usually he is its producer and not its product),[40] but it should be borne in mind that Apollo regularly appears in Homer as protector of the Sarpedon and Glaukos (*Il.* 16.514-15, 16.667-83, 16.527-31),[41] and so the 'Lycian-born' translation must be given consideration.[42] (Is it possible that Apollo was imported from the Anatolian pantheon into the Greek *via* Lycia?)

Later literature strengthens the connection. In the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (179-80) Apollo is linked with Lycia. Bacchylides (12.147-48) similarly seems to believe that Apollo could be associated with Lycia. Apollo Λύκειος is a commonplace in the tragedians, sometimes in the

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[33] See Hornblower 1996a: 79.

[34] On the etymology, see further Steiner 1993: 124 n. 17 and refs.

[35] Kretschmer 1933: 228-29; 1940: 102; Tritsch 1950: 498; Chantraine 1974: 650.

[36] Leaf 1900: 161 *ad loc.*; Murray 1938: 116 n. 1; Willcock 1978: 224. Kirk 1985: 340 all but ignores the Lycian-derived interpretation.

[37] This is the translation adopted by Lattimore 1951: 116.

[38] Leaf 1900: 161.

[39] Though it seems to be at least as early as Sophocles, who at *El.* 6-7 describes the precinct of Apollo at Argos as τοῦ λυκοκτόνου θεοῦ ἀγορὰ Λύκειος.

[40] Hope Moncrieff 1907: 33.

[41] Mellink 1995a: 33. Bryce 1996: 45 suggests that this is partly to do with the archer-god Apollo being a suitable patron for the skilled archer Sarpedon (on which see Frei 1996).

[42] See Willcock 1976: 46, for a non-committal account of the question. Bryce 1990-1991: 144-45 rejects the 'Lycian' interpretation, in my view unwarrantedly.

form Λύκει' ἄναξ.[43] This is clearest in the *Oedipus Tyrannus* (203-08), where Sophocles gives both Apollo and Artemis Lycian associations; alternate explanations have been provided for the epithet applied to Apollo,[44] but since Artemis is definitely associated with Lycia, it seems certain that Lycia must be meant for Apollo also. It is therefore not unlikely that the other references in tragedy also denote 'Lycian' Apollo. Bryce, curiously, accepts that there was a common perception in the Greek mind that Apollo was associated with Lycia, but denies that this is evidence for any actual Apolline cult in Lycia. He argues that the perception originated in a spurious etymology associating *Lykeios* and Lycia, an association that later contributed to the *actual* establishment of Apolline cult in Lycia; this, at the very least, is special pleading.[45]

The problem is further complicated by the appearance of two Greek names in which Apollo is an element in bilingual Greek/Lycian inscriptions. In one, the Greek name 'Απολλωνίδης (*TAM* i 6.4-5) is represented in the Lycian text by *Pulenjda* (l. 1).[46] This is clearly a straightforward transcription of the Greek name into Lycian, and carries no implications for Apolline cult in Lycia.[47]

The problem comes with the other inscription, where the name 'Απολλόδοτος is rendered in Lycian as *Natrbbijẽmi*.[48] This seems to be a translation of the name,[49] rather than a transcription, but does it mean that there was some Lycian deity by the name of Natr- that became equated with Apollo? This is the general assumption,[50] but this deity seems unattested anywhere else, apart from two references on the Lycian B section of the Inscribed Pillar (*TAM* i 44.*c*.33, 48), to a probably related term *natri*, where the context is virtually incomprehensible.[51] Could there be any possible significance here to the Egyptian word *ntr*, which was their word for 'god'? Could *natr-* be a loan-word from Egyptian? It is known that there were Lukka contacts with the Egyptians at least as early as the late second

43 Aesch. *Ag*. 1257; *Sept*. 145 (Λύκει' ἄναξ); *Suppl*. 686; Soph. *El*. 645 (Λύκει' ἄναξ), 655, 1379; *OT* 203, 919; Eur. fr. 700 Nauck. On Aeschylus' familiarity with Lycia, see Keen 1996b: 287.

44 See e.g. Jebb 1893: 38 *ad* 203; Dawe 1982: 114 *ad* 203.

45 Bryce 1990-1991: 145. It is regrettable that whilst noting that the etymologies giving Λυκία a derivation from the Greek language are spurious, he seems oblivious to the fact that many modern interpretations of Λυκηγενής and Λύκειος derive from similar etymologies.

46 Neumann 1996: 146.

47 So Bryce 1986: 182.

48 N 320.*b*.3-4; see *CRAI* 1974; Mayrhofer 1975: 279; Texidor 1978: 181-85; Mayrhofer 1979: 184-85.

49 Bryce 1986: 165 n. 84, 187.

50 E.g. Bryce 1986: 187.

51 See Melchert 1993a: 121. Neumann 1996: 148 suggests that the term 'probably' is also found in Carian.

millennium.[52] The possibility being suggested here is that the Lycians might have translated the name Apollodotos in such a way as to make it the equivalent of 'Theodotos'.[53] Thus there would be no Lycian deity 'Natr-'; *natr-* would simply be a generic term for god. The fact that such a term, *mahana-*,[54] already exists in Lycian is not necessarily a good argument against this proposition, as languages often have synonyms (e.g. English 'god' and 'deity').[55] On the other hand, Trqqas/Zeus certainly (p. 202) and Leto possibly (p. 196) were referred to in Lycian inscriptions both by native Lycian names and by names derived from Greek.

The issue is further complicated by the fact that the man carrying the name Apollodotos/Natrbbijẽmi was an archon of Lycia who had been directly appointed by the Carian ruler Pixodaros (N 320.*b*.2-3), which raises the possibility that he may not have been either a native Lycian *or* a Greek, but a Carian;[56] so could *Natrbbijẽmi* be then a Lycian transcription of a Carian name? The question must remain open.

Artemis, on the other hand, is certainly attested in Lycian inscriptions, where she is given the name *Ertẽme/i-* or *Erteme/i*. Noticeably, Erbbina gives her some prominence on the inscriptions on his statue base (*SEG* 39 1414.53), where she is linked with the Nymphai (p. 205). Later she became particularly important in some parts of Lycia. There are a considerable number of inscriptions mentioning Artemis from Telemessos,[57] and also a votive from Trysa.[58]

The automatic assumption from the name in Lycian and its similarity to that in Greek is that Artemis was a Greek import into the Lycian pantheon[59] (if the Lycian religious system can be said to constitute a 'pantheon'[60]), even if both Leto and Apollo had their pre-Greek Anatolian-derived equivalents. It might, however, be worth noting that the name of the Lydian goddess worshipped, among other places, at Ephesos was, as far as the people of Lydia were concerned, Artimu,[61] so it might be possible

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[52] See Knudtzon 1915: no. 38 (tr. Bryce 1982a: 43-44) (letter from the king of Alašiya to Akhenaton about 'Lukki' raids, *c.* 1350); Gardiner 1966: P40-P53 (Lukka amongst the Hittite allies at the battle of Qadesh, *c.* 1300-1275); Breasted 1906: 243 sec. 579 (Lukka amongst the Sea Peoples in the reign of Merenptah, *c.* 1213-1204).

[53] *-bbiyẽmi* certainly seems to be the equivalent of *-dotos*; Bryce 1986: 187.

[54] Laroche 1979: 108; Melchert 1993a: 39.

[55] Lycian B also has a word for 'god', the south-west Anatolian *masa-* (Melchert 1993a: 120).

[56] A possibility raised by Hornblower 1982: 76 & n. 162.

[57] E.g. the decrees *TAM* ii 1.37, 2.18, and a series of dedications, e.g. *TAM* ii 4.

[58] Metzger 1952: 17 no. 6.

[59] Laroche 1980: 5; Bryce 1986: 181.

[60] Cf. Bryce 1986: 172-73; note the *mãhãi huwedri* attested on a number of inscriptions (e.g. *TAM* i 7.8-9, 59.3, 88.6, 93.3), generally though to be some sort of grouping of deities (Houwink ten Cate 1961: 94 n. g; Laroche 1967: 56; Bryce 1986: 173).

[61] Nilsson 1955: 481; Hanfmann 1958: 65, 81 n. 4.

that this goddess entered Lycian religion by an Anatolian route. On the other hand, even if this is true, Ertẽme may be a late addition to the ranks of the Lycian deities, since Artimu at Ephesos was another aspect of the same Anatolian mother-goddess already represented in Lycia by Ẽni Mahanahi. One seems to have in Lycia then one aspect of the Anatolian mother-goddess as daughter of another, and this further contributes to the suggestion that Ertẽme, however she entered the Lycian cult system, did so late, after her associations with the mother-goddess had been obscured.

3 *Trqqas*[62]

In an number of Lycian inscriptions the name Trqqas is found.[63] This name in the nominative derives from a stem *Trqqñt-*, which, according to Laroche, was pronounced either 'Tarkunt' or 'Trokont'.[64] This pronunciation makes it quite obvious that the name is the same as that of the Hittite/Anatolian storm-god Tarhunt.[65] One might expect that this god would be identified with Zeus; after all, the peoples of Greece have typically given storm-gods from other cultures the attributes of Zeus (even including the Christian God).[66] However, there is no inscription which securely attests the equation. There are nonetheless three pieces of evidence which point in this direction. Houwink ten Cate has suggested that Zeus Solymeus, the chief deity of eastern Lycia, Pisidia and Lycaonia in the Hellenistic period and later, is simply the Anatolian Tarhunt in a Greek guise.[67] A more contemporary and perhaps better piece of evidence is found on the Inscribed Pillar:

> *se-dde tuwetẽ : kumeziya : ꝩere ꝩere : Trqqñti pddãtahi.* (*TAM* i 44.*b*.62)

Laroche translates this as 'and he has set up [altars?] to the local Trqqas throughout the sanctuaries',[68] and points out the similarity between this phrase and one in the Greek epigram on the same monument:

> Ζηνὶ δὲ πλεῖστα τροπαῖα βροτῶν ἔστησεν ἁπάντων. (*SEG* 42 1245.11 = *TAM* i 44.*c*.30)

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[62] *TAM* i 26.7, 18; 29.17; 44.*b*.34, 37, 52; 65.19; 80.3; 83.15-16; 88.6; 93.3; Bryce 1986: 177.

[63] For the full list, see Melchert 1993a: 79.

[64] Laroche 1980: 3. The term appears in Greek as Ταρκονδας/Τροκονδας (Sundwall 1913: 269) in Pamphylia, Pisidia and Isauria (*FHG* IV 619; *TAM* ii 925.2-3; Kretschmer 1896: 363; Cousin 1899: 287; Wilhelm 1909: 224).

[65] Metzger 1952: 14 no. 2; Laroche 1958: 96-99; 1959: 127; 1979: 115; Neumann 1979: 261; Laroche 1980: 3; Meriggi 1980: 220-21.

[66] Hope Moncrieff 1907: 29.

[67] Houwink ten Cate 1961: 202.

[68] Laroche 1980: 3; cf. Laroche 1967: 58, 61; 1979: 61; Bryce 1986: 177.

He set up the most trophies to Zeus of all mortals.

The two phrases are clearly not identical, but nonetheless the parallels are highly suggestive. Moreover, the word *zeusi* also appears on the Pillar (*b*.62). This is clearly derived from 'Zeus',[69] but it is somewhat surprising that the Lycians had a name for Zeus taken from the Greek as well as a Lycian equivalent.

The final piece of evidence is a recently discovered inscription from Limyra, where Perikle is found dedicating an altar to Zeus (*SEG* 41 1382; p. 161).[70]

It seems likely, therefore, that Zeus was equated with Trqqas. However, it also seems probable, given the relative lack of inscriptions, particularly clear bilinguals, that the worship of Zeus/Trqqas was not as important in Lycia as it was in other parts of the Greek or indeed Anatolian world.[71]

4 *Malija/Athena*[72]

Another deity regularly attested in the Lycian inscriptions[73] is Malija, found in sites such as Tlos (*TAM* i 26.12), Xanthos (*TAM* i 44.*a*.43, *c*.5, 7-8), the Letoön, Tyberissos (*TAM* i 75.6, 76.5) and Arneai (*TAM* i 80). Malija seems to have been a deity of considerable antiquity. She is frequently attested in Hittite texts,[74] and the name often forms the root of Hittite and other second and first millennium personal and place-names.[75]

The silver head-vase inscribed in Lycian characters noted above (p. 70) has depicted on it the Judgement of Paris. By the figure of Athena is the inscription *Mal*[*ija*] (N 307.*c*). Once the identification of Athena and Malija became known, certain matters of Lycian iconography became clearer. One understands better why the man buried in the Inscribed Pillar chose to ascribe his victories to Athena Ptoliporthos ('Sacker of Cities') (*SEG* 42 1245.7 = *TAM* i 44.*c*.26). Most of all, the regular appearance of the helmeted head of Athena on Lycian coinage[76] takes on a different aspect. One no longer has to interpret this as an indication of pro-Athenian leanings (always a dubious interpretation as the issuing of Athena-head coinage continued long after the point where the Lycians had rejected

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69 Melchert 1993a: 97.

70 For all the evidence relating to Zeus, see Frei 1990b: 1839-46.

71 But cf. Neumann 1976: 85-86; Bryce 1986: 177.

72 For Malija/Athena see *TAM* i 26.12; 44.*a*.43, *c*.5 & 7-8; 75.5; 76.5; 80.3; 149.2-3, 12; 150.6; N 307.*c*; Hawkins 1974; Laroche 1979: 117; 1980: 4; Bryce 1986: 177-78.

73 Neumann 1967: 34-38; Hawkins 1974: 902-03.

74 Laroche 1980: 4.

75 Neumann 1967: 34-35; 1970: 54-55; Barnett 1974: 900-01.

76 M, pp. 29-31; Frei 1990b: 1776 nos. 0.1.1, 0.1.2, 6.1.1, 1777 nos. 9.1.1, 12.1.1, 17.1.1-2, 1778 nos. 20.1.1, 39.1.1.

Athenian hegemony and returned to the Persian empire, even to the point of having the head appearing on the obverse of coins that carried a head in a Persian *bashlik* on the reverse); rather it can be seen as placing a national deity on national coinage, only depicting that goddess in a Greek fashion,[77] as by the fifth and fourth centuries the Lycians often did. They are not, it should be noted, adopting the cult of Athena; rather, they are representing the Lycian cult of Malija in the Greek-derived media of coinage and Greek-language epigraphy through the established vocabulary of those media.

Most interesting with regard to Malija are two inscriptions from Rhodiapolis, where Malija is given the epithet *Wedrẽñni* (*TAM* i 149.2-3, 9 & 12; 150.6-7), a word which, it has been suggested, means 'regional', 'municipal', or 'national' (p. 154). This is interesting because in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, the cult of Athena is attested from this same city, Rhodiapolis (*TAM* ii 924.6, 925.11), and from Phaselis, the cult of Athena Polias is attested in an inscription which cannot be dated later than the fifth century (*TAM* ii 1184; cf. 1200). As has been pointed out by other scholars, Malija Wedrẽñni seems to be an almost direct translation of Athena Polias.[78] Rhodiapolis and Phaselis were Rhodian foundations (p. 16); what seems to have happened is that the cult of Athena Polias, presumably brought with them by the Rhodians, was equated with that of Malija, and given a Lycian name. However, this never seems to have spread outside of the Rhodian-colonized part of Lycia.

Malija/Athena may have had a cult centre at Xanthos. She is certainly depicted on the lid of a sarcophagus from that site, engaged in battle with the Amazons.[79] It was once thought that there was a precinct of Malija, Artemis and Basileus Kaunios in Xanthos, on the basis of a passage from the Inscribed Pillar (*TAM* i 44.*c*.5);[80] however, this passage has recently been reinterpreted by Melchert to indicate that this joint precinct was in fact in Kaunos,[81] and there is no other evidence before the Letoön Trilingual of the cult of Basileus Kaunios in Lycia. But the Inscribed Pillar does refer to Patara as *Pttara : Malijehi* (*TAM* i *a*.43). Since *Malijehi* is the genitive adjective,[82] this may mean 'Patara, city of Malija'.

The final point worth mentioning about Malija is that, like many other deities, she turns up in the Lycian sepulchral inscriptions as being respon-

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77 Mørkholm, Zahle 1976: 75-79.

78 Hawkins 1974: 902; Laroche 1979: 115; Carruba 1993: 14; cf. Bryce 1986: 178; but see Bryce 1986: 173 n. 1, who interprets the epithet as an indication of the local nature of the cult in Rhodiapolis.

79 Barnett 1974: 901.

80 Bryce 1986: 186.

81 Melchert 1993b: 32-33.

82 Melchert 1993a: 39.

sible for punishing violators of the tombs (*TAM* i 75.5, 80.3, 149.2 & 12, 150.6).[83]

5 *Aphrodite/Pedrita*

Aphrodite, naturally, also appears on the head-vase depicting the Judgement of Paris, where she is identified as Pedrita. Almost certainly, Aphrodite/Pedrita was a simple importation from the Greek world into the Lycian.[84] One might almost believe that she was simply part of the Greek mythological background that the Lycians were progressively adopting in this period. However, part of the Inscribed Pillar (*TAM* i 44.*b*.53) may indicate that there was a cult of Aphrodite established in Lycia by the end of the fifth century,[85] though the reference has also been interpreted by the same scholar, Laroche, as a toponym, equivalent to Aphrodisias.[86]

6 *The 'Dancing Women'*

One of the things noticeable on many Lycian funerary monuments are female figures of some form. On the Harpy Tomb (note particularly the south side) they are winged figures who have been variously identified as Harpies or Sirens,[87] but are not really either. On the Sarpedoneion they are standing female figures (p. 191). On the 'Dancing Women' sarcophagus from Xanthos, dancing female figures decorate the ends.[88] On the Nereid Monument there are dancing figures lightly clothed,[89] identified as 'Nereids' or 'Aurai' (breezes),[90] or even as representations of the cities of Ionia and Aeolia.[91] The Limyra Heroön has caryatids.[92] The 'Doric Tomb' at Antiphellos has dancing women inside on the rear wall.[93] One may even perhaps cite a sarcophagus found in the Royal Tomb at Sidon, but which almost certainly originated in Lycia,[94] which has sphinxes carved on the gable ends,[95] as does one from Xanthos.[96] It seems almost certain that

83 Bryce 1981: 84.
84 Bryce 1986: 181.
85 Laroche 1979: 115.
86 Laroche 1980: 5; I remain unconvinced by this.
87 Demargne 1958: 39-44.
88 Demargne 1974: 100-03; İdil 1985: 84-85. On dance in Lycia see Benda 1996.
89 Childs, Demargne 1989: 119-37.
90 Nereids: Childs, Demargne 1989: 270-77; Aurai: Benton 1970: 193; either: Haynes 1974: 77; Cook 1976: 91; Lawrence 1983: 247.
91 Gibson 1851: 131-55.
92 Borchhardt 1976: 27-48, 115, 117-21.
93 Bean 1978: 95.
94 Hamdy Bey, Reinach 1896: 209-237.
95 Fleischer 1983.

these are Lycian female spirits of the dead (the figures on the Harpy Tomb have been interpreted as taking away the souls of the deceased),[97] who have been visualized through a variety of Greek iconographic images.[98] Identifying the Dancing Women in the Lycian inscriptions, however, has proved problematic. I myself at one point believed that a name found on a Lycian inscription, *Ñkhrahidije* (*TAM* i 29.2), referred to these spirits,[99] but this now seems unlikely. Beyond this, there are other possibilities. Θεοὶ (κατα)χθόνιοι are known from later Greek inscriptions from Lycia,[100] though these are, of course, masculine. Then there are the *itlehi*, believed to be either human or divine agents of vengeance,[101] presumably against tomb violators, but this does not quite seem to fit the role depicted in the iconography on the tombs (though it is not impossible that one role could appear in the inscriptions and another in visual representations); there are, incidentally, another group of divine agents of retribution for tomb violation attested on two inscriptions from Limyra (*TAM* i 135.2, 149.10), the *tesẽti Trm̃mili*, identified as 'oath-gods'.[102] Alternatively, there are references in the Letoön Trilingual to the Νύμφαι (N 320.*b*.34-35), who are equated in the Lycian text with a group called the Eliyãna (N 320.*a*.40). These have been interpreted as water-nymphs, as much on a proposed derivation of the Lycian name as anything else,[103] though it should certainly be noted that a spring at the end of the Temple of Leto was an important part of the Letoön from as early as the sixth century,[104] to judge from dedications found there, and later a Nymphaeum was built.[105] The Nymphai are also mentioned on one of the inscriptions of the statue-base of Erbbina, where they are found as joining with Artemis to confer glory upon Erbbina's father Kheriga.[106]

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96 İdil 1985: 82-83.

97 Haynes 1974: 77.

98 Le Roy 1990: 43 & n. 39. Barringer 1995: 59-66 correctly identifies the figures as escorts of the dead, but her discussion is flawed by placing the Nereid Monument within an entirely Greek context; she accepts that the figures are Nereids on the grounds that this is more likely than any of the other (Greek) identifications put forward, and does not see the Monument in the context of the other depictions of the Dancing Women.

99 An idea cited at Melchert 1993a: 50 but now rejected by him. Given the association on the inscription with *θurtta-* (for which see p. 213 n. 167) it seems possible that *ñkrahadijẽ* refers to a group of divinities.

100 E.g. *TAM* ii 51, 55, 218, 228, 451, 452, 521, 613, 637, 692, 927, 1028, 1081; *SEG* 1 467. See Carruba 1970: 37 n. 24; Bryce 1986: 173 & n. 5.

101 Melchert 1993a: 32.

102 See Bryce 1976a: 186; 1986: 178; 1996: 42. They are probably connected to the Hittite 'oath-gods'.

103 Laroche 1979: 114; Meriggi 1990: 225; Eichner 1983: 63.

104 Metzger 1980b.

105 Bean 1978: 63.

106 Bousquet 1992: B.33 = *SEG* 39 1414.53.

The Nymphai/Eliyãna could be some other form of female deities than water-nymphs, however; but once again, an identification with the Dancing Women must take account of the fact that it is quite clear that these nymphs are mentioned in this stele as agents of retribution, should any enactments of the religious decree on which they are mentioned be broken.[107] It is possible that Lycian deities could perform both that role and the role of conveying the souls of the dead, but one cannot say for certain. The identification of the Dancing Women with a group mentioned in the Lycian inscriptions cannot be firmly made, though perhaps the Eliyãna are slightly more likely than the other candidates.

7 *The Twelve Gods*[108]

The Twelve Gods are only found once in any Lycian-language inscription, as far as can be made out, on the Inscribed Pillar (*TAM* i 44.*a*.12), where it has been suggested that they appear as *Mahai Tusñti*.[109] They also appear in the Greek epigram from the Inscribed Pillar (*SEG* 42 1245.3 = *TAM* i 44.*c*.22). But they are best known from the series of plagues that are found throughout Lycia.[110] These all depict a very similar scene; twelve identical gods in a row, staring straight out in front, with a single figure, usually male, but occasionally female, in the middle, with a row below of what are generally called dogs, but are perhaps better described simply as 'canines' (it has been suggested to me that they could be wolves, thus tying in with the association of wolves and Lycian Apollo), again with a figure in the centre.[111] There is generally a Greek inscription between the two rows of figures, which usually reads 'to the Twelve Gods by command ...',[112] followed by the name of the dedicant.[113] These plaques are in fact found in Lycia in the Roman period, and probably not much before the third century A.D.[114] They are not found in the Classical period. What precisely is the role that was played by the Twelve Gods in Lycian religion, therefore, re-

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107 Robinson 1995: 355-59 does identify the figures on the Nereid Monument with the Eliyãna, but his argument is weakened by a failure to see these figures in the context of the other depictions of the Dancing Women.

108 See further Asheri 1983: 87-91; Robert 1983: 587-93; Bryce 1986: 179-81; Freyer-Schauenberg 1994.

109 Laroche 1974: 146; Bryce 1996: 44 (though giving the reference for their appearance in the Greek text). There also exists the possibility that they are to be equated with the *mãhãi huwedri* mentioned above (p. 200 n. 60); see Bryce 1986: 180.

110 E.g. Bean 1978: 158-59; 1979: 23 fig. 2, 24; Gschwintler in *GHHIL*, 134 (example from Demre); Kolb, Kupke 1992: 29, 30 fig. 39 (example from Antiphellos).

111 Bean 1958b: 78 suggests that this lower figure is intended to be the dedicant.

112 For an example reading 'To Artemis ...' see Bean 1958b: 77.

113 Bean 1978: 159.

114 Bean 1978: 159.

mains obscure, though it is perhaps worth noting that there is a Greek inscription from Sidyma that lists, under the rubric 'The gods here', twelve deities, including Zeus, Apollo, Artemis, Athena, Aphrodite and, surprisingly, Hecate and Serapis.[115] Moreover, it has also been suggested that the Twelve Gods are connected with the twelve gods of the Underworld depicted on the Hittite monument of Yazılıkaya.[116] Nor is it clear who the figures in the centre, or the canines, are meant to represent.

8 *Kronos*

Plutarch records the following tale (*Mor.* 421d [*De def. or.* 21]):

> ἐπεὶ καὶ Σολύμους πυνθάνομαι τοὺς Λυκίων προσοίκους ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τιμᾶν τὸν Κρόνον· ἐπεὶ δ' ἀποκτείνας τοὺς ἄρχοντας αὐτῶν, Ἄρσαλον καὶ Δρύον καὶ Τρωσοβιόν, ἔφυγε καὶ μετεχώρησεν ὁποιδήποτε (τοῦτο γὰρ οὐκ ἔχουσιν εἰπεῖν), ἐκεῖνον μὲν ἀμεληθῆναι, τοὺς δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἄρσαλον σκιρροὺς θεοὺς προσαγορεύεσθαι, καὶ τὰς κατάρας ἐπὶ τούτων ποιεῖσθαι δημοσίᾳ καὶ ἰδίᾳ Λυκίους.
>
> Indeed, I have learnt that the Solymoi, neighbours of the Lycians, honoured Kronos to the greatest extent; but when he killed their leaders, Arsalos, Dryos and Trosobios, fled and emigrated somewhere or other (where, they cannot say), they neglected him and saluted Arsalos and those with him as the Hard Gods,[117] and the Lycians lay curses in their names, both as a people and individually.

This, on the face of it, appears to be an indication that, at some distant point in the past, there was a cult of Kronos amongst the Solymoi, and perhaps even in Lycia itself.[118] This possibility becomes more attractive when it is discovered that one of the three 'Hard Gods', Trosobios, has his equivalent in Lycian, Trzzubi (*TAM* i 111.1 & 4).[119] But Bryce is sceptical as to how much weight can be placed on this material,[120] and even though his reading of Plutarch is problematic—he says that "Kronos' victims are deified and honoured in Lycia",[121] when even if Plutarch's change in geographical terminology is to be taken as having any significance (rather than being, as is perhaps more likely, pure sloppiness on Plutarch's part) the Lycians are *not* the subject of *prosagoreuesthai*, which must still be the

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115 Bean 1978: 81. Compare also Arkesimas on the Letoön Trilingual (N 320.*b*.16, 23).

116 Gates 1974: 166. For Yazılıkaya, see Laroche 1969, and for an illustration of the relief, see Gurney 1954: 118-19 fig. 8. For possible Phrygian influences, see Akurgal 1955: 99 n. 31.

117 Babbitt 1969: 413 and Warner 1971 59 translate σκιρρός as 'stern'. I have preferred the translation of Russell 1993: 31.

118 And so taken by Robert, "Divinités d'Anatolie", in Robert 1949: 53.

119 Houwink ten Cate 1961: 104 & n. 1; Neumann 1979: 261-262.

120 Bryce 1986: 190.

121 Bryce 1986: 190.

Solymoi—he is probably right to be so. There is evidence for festivals at Tlos in honour of Kronos, but not certainly until the third century A.D. (*TAM* ii 585).[122]

9 *The Dioskouroi*

A cult of the Dioskouroi is known in Lycia and Pisidia. Robert argues that this is not evidence for a cult imported from Greece, but is in fact a Lycio-Pisidian cult that has adopted Greek forms.[123]

10 *Sarpedon*[124]

> πέμπε δέ μιν πομποῖσιν ἅμα κραιπνοῖσι φέρεσθαι,
> Ὕπνῳ καὶ Θανάτῳ διδυμάοσιν, οἵ ῥά μιν ὦκα
> θήσουσ' ἐν Λυκίης εὐρείης πίονι δήμῳ,
> ἔνθά ἑ ταρχύσουσι κασίγνητοί τε ἔται τε
> τύμβῳ τε στήλῃ τε· τὸ γὰρ γέρας ἐστὶ θανόντων.[125]
>
> [G]ive [Sarpedon] into the hands of the swift messengers, Sleep [Hypnos] and Death [Thanatos], twin brothers, to carry him with them, and they will quickly set him down in the rich land of broad Lycia, where his brothers and kinsmen will give him full burial with mound and gravestone—such is the right of the dead.[126]

Of all the Lycian heroes, Sarpedon is probably the most famous.[127] Homer's Sarpedon was the son of Zeus and Laodameia, the leader of the Lycian contingent that came to assist the Trojans (*Il.* 2.876-77),[128] until he was killed by Patroklos.[129] The death of this Sarpedon and his removal by Hypnos and Thanatos is illustrated on a Red-Figure calyx-crater signed by Euphronios, now in the Metropolitan Museum of New York.[130] Herodotus' Sarpedon was a brother of Minos, and was responsible for bringing from

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122 Frei 1990b: 1811. See Robert 1949: 52-54; 1978: 43-8; 1983b: 249; Lebrun 1992.

123 Robert 1983: 553-77, esp. 562-67 and 557 on the cult at Telemessos. See SEG 33 1168; Lebrun 1992.

124 See March 1996; *LIMC* 7.1, 696-700.

125 Hom. *Il.* 16.671-75. Cf. 16.454-57 & 681-83.

126 Tr. Hammond 1987: 287. Zeus is addressing Apollo.

127 See Keen 1996a: 229-30 for a brief discussion, from which the following derives.

128 Sarpedon and Glaukos are both described as ***basileis*** by Homer, but Σ *Il.* 12.101 Erbse and Eustath. 849.37-40are both clear that Sarpedon, not Glaukos, as ruler of Lycia; see Frei 1996.

129 Other references: Hom. *Il.* 5.471-93, 5.628-98, 6.198-99, 12.307-412, 16.419-683; Apollod. *Epit.* 3.35; Hyg. *Fab.* 106.2; Ath. 13f; Quint. Smyrn. 4.289-90.

130 Inv. 1972.11.10; illustrated by e.g. *GHHIL*, 160; Boardman 1993: 77. See von Bothmer 1981; Shapiro 1994: 21-27.

Crete those people who would eventually become the Lycians[131] (as was that of the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*).

There is often in the ancient sources a degree of confusion between the two; Aeschylus' Sarpedon in the *Kares*, for instance, is both leader at Troy and brother of Minos. Later mythographers noted what they saw as the chronological difficulty of one man being both founder of the Lycians and Lycian ruler at the time of the Trojan War, and explained it either through clearly distinguishing the two and making the second the grandson of the first,[132] or amalgamating them into one man who lived over several generations.[133]

It seems likely that there was originally a single Lycian hero (the name seems to be Luwian in origin[134]) who over a period of time became associated with a number of events in Lycia's legendary past.[135] Sarpedon had become the generic Lycian leader, being linked with the Greek tales wherever they interacted with the Lycians and had to be associated with all things Lycian in the same way that nearly every ancient British site has some association with King Arthur. In the time of Homer perhaps Sarpedon was only associated with the Trojan War;[136] by the time of Aeschylus, he had become associated with Lycia's foundation as well (an association which is unlikely to have been an innovation of Aeschylus', given the

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[131] Hdt. 1.173.2-3; Ephor. F 127; Diod. 5.79.3; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.1.2; Str. 12.8.5 (573); 14.3.10 [667]. Hes. fr. 141.8-19:

.... ἔμ]ελλε τανισφύρωι Εὐρωπείηι,
....] πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε
.... νύ]μφης πάρα καλλικόμοιο.
ἡ δ' ἄρα παῖδ]ας [ἔτικτ]εν ὑπερμενέϊ Κρονίωνι
.... πο]λέων ἡγήτορας ἀνδρῶν,
Μίνω τε κρείοντα] δίκαιόν τε Ῥαδάμανθυν
καὶ Σαρπηδόνα δῖον] ἀμύμονά τε κρατερ[όν τε.
[ ]εδάσσατο μητίετα Ζ[εύς·
[Λυκίης εὐρ]είης ἶφι ἄνασσε
[πό]λεις εὖ ναιεταώσα[ς
[πολ]λὴ δέ οἱ ἕσπετο τιμή
[μεγαλή]τορι ποιμένι λαῶν.

See West 1985.

[132] According to Diod. 5.79.3. The older Sarpedon does not appear in the *Iliad*.

[133] E.g. Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.1.2, who gives three as the number of generations; Σ Hom. *Il.* 6.198-99*a*[1] Erbse, which gives six.

[134] Götze 1954: 78; Laroche 1951: 145; Carruba 1962: 403; for Luwian occurrences of the root *sarp-*, see Laroche 1951: 35 nos. 628-29; 1966: 276, 283.

[135] See Bryce 1986: 21. Radice 1973: 213 *s.v.* 'Sarpedon' makes the less plausible suggestion that there were originally two Lycian heroes, conflated in some accounts into one. Frei 1978: 819-27 argues that the involvement of Sarpedon in the Trojan War is entirely an invention of Homer. See now Hiller 1993: 110.

[136] Frei 1978 argues that the involvement of Sarpedon in the Trojan War is entirely an invention of Homer. See now Hiller 1993: 110

theme's presence in the *Catalogue of Women*),[137] but the tradition had not yet sought a means of explaining his presence at both.

Given the number of places named after Sarpedon in south-western Asia Minor and beyond,[138] it is quite clear that Sarpedon was a well-known figure throughout the area. Sarpedon's involvement in the Trojan War may be a Homeric invention, but even so it seems likely that Homer derived his material from some Lycian epic.[139]

His chief cult centre was at Xanthos, where he was supposedly buried, as Homer and Aristotle describe (Hom. *Il.* 16.681-83; Arist. fr. 641.58 Rose), and where a pair of inscriptions reveal that he had a deme named after him in the Hellenistic period, and no doubt earlier (*TAM* ii 264.2, 265.1);[140] another deme was named after him at Tlos (*TAM* ii 597.*a*.2). By the fifth century, a major cult complex had been built on the acropolis at Xanthos, the Sarpedoneion (pp. 186-87). It was presumably here that the games of the Sarpedoneia which have already been mentioned (p. 194) took place, though it is unclear what exactly these games consisted of beyond the fact that the inscription mentioning the games was in honour of a pankratiast (*SEG* 28 1248.7).[141] There is no archaeological evidence of a stadium at Xanthos, though late-period stadia have been found at other cities in Lycia (e.g. Kadyanda and Arykanda).[142] What the cultic practices for Sarpedon were is unclear, though there was clearly a general reverence for the dead in Lycia. There is definite epigraphic evidence from the Roman period (*TAM* ii 245, 636, 637, 715) that regular sacrifices were made at the tombs of deceased citizens, and some to show that offerings were left at tombs in the Classical period (*TAM* i 74.*b*, 84.5-6; N 304),[143] so one suspects that regular offerings would be made at the Sarpedoneion since, as Greek evidence makes clear, the Sarpedoneion was perceived as the tomb of Sarpedon.

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[137] But Bergk in Bergk & Kock 1880: 248 seems to think that *Kares* relates simply to older Sarpedon.

[138] See Zwicker 1921: 43-46. Rose 1968 suggests that these indicate that Sarpedon's worship was ancient and famous, and this may have attracted Homer's attention (see n. 129).

[139] As suggested by Frei 1978; see also Hiller 1993.

[140] Note also *SEG* 37 1234.12.

[141] For torch races at Xanthos, see Balland 1981: 41-42; for leaders of 'ephebic' groups, see *SEG* 38 1482.

[142] Bean 1978: 44 (Kadyanda); 138 (Arykanda).

[143] See Bryce 1980; 1986: 126-27. A number of terracottas, perhaps intended as votives, have been found in tombs at Limyra (see Zhuber-Okrog 1990: 58-59).

11 *Bellerophon*

Bellerophon, another king of Lycia in Greek mythology,[144] was honoured with a deme at Tlos (*TAM* ii 548.11, 36; 590.4). He was also supposedly buried at Tlos (Quint. Smyrn. 10.162-63), where a tomb relief of Bellerophon on Pegasus dating *c.* 350-320 can still be seen;[145] presumably his cult centre was at Tlos. Unlike Sarpedon, however, Bellerophon may have been a Greek hero,[146] with strong connections to Corinth, whose tale predates any serious link between Greece and Lycia. The tale may have been subsequently linked with the Lycians by Greek mythographers, due to the perennial fires of the 'Chimaira' seen on the mountains of Lycia from the Bay of Antalya.[147] The link between the mountain and the mythical beast was made by writers from the early fourth century onwards (e.g. Plin. *HN* 2.110.236, citing Ctesias [F 45eβ];[148] 5.28.100), and it may well be implicit in Homer's story—he was perhaps the first to link Lycia with the myth of Bellerophon (*Il.* 6.155-97). Subsequently, a new generation of mythographers, conscious that the political centre of gravity of Lycia was in the west rather than the east, seem to have shifted the location of Bellerophon's activities to the Xanthos valley and the slopes of Mt. Kragos,[149] already home of the parallel and largely unconnected cycle of stories concerning Sarpedon.

If this was the case, then Bellerophon rapidly became adopted by the Lycians. As well as the Tlos relief and the Limyra Heroön (p. 159), he is also depicted slaying the Chimaira on the Trysa Heroön,[150] and appears frequently elsewhere on reliefs from the end of the fifth century and later.[151] 'Pegasus' appears frequently on Lycian coinage.[152] The Chimaira, however, which one might expect to be more closely connected to Lycia than any other part of the tradition, is comparatively rare in Lycian iconography. It appears on Lycian coinage only once,[153] though the beast also

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144 See Bryce 1986: 244-45 for a full list of references, and see further, Graves 1960: I, 254.

145 Bean 1978: 67-68 & fig. 6; Borchhardt 1968: 170 pl. 43.4.

146 Brewster 1993: 67. Tritsch 1968: 124-36, however, argues that the Bellerophon tradition originates from Asia. See now Jonau 1995.

147 Bean 1979: 137-38.

148 *flagrat in Phaselitis mons Chimaera, et quidem immortali diebus ac noctibus flamma. ignem eius accendi aqua, extingui vero terra aut fimo Cnidius Ctesias tradit.*

149 So Str. 14.3.5 (665).

150 Eichler 1950: 58-59; Oberleitner 1990: 156-57 no. 46; 1994: 28-29.

151 On depictions of Bellerophon generally, see Metzger 1983: 364-65. He is possibly depicted on the Merehi sarcophagus, though the depiction, of a charioteer running down the Chimaira, may be intended as Merehi himself (Demargne 1974: 96), though no doubt an image derived from the Bellerophon tradition.

152 Mørkholm, Zahle 1972: 91-92.

153 Babelon 1910: no. 219.

appears on the Trysa Heroön, on the Merehi sarcophagus,[154] and possibly on the relief from Tlos.[155]

Other heroes were honoured in Lycia. Strabo (14.3.5 [665]) informs us that Pandaros son of Lykaon (Hom. *Il.* 5.171-73) had a cult centre at Pinara.[156] Glaukos, famous from Homer as being Sarpedon's friend and right-hand man, who took over the Lycian forces after the latter's death, is named at a hero on an inscription from the Hellenistic gate of Xanthos (*TAM* ii 265.7), and Alexander Polyhistor (F 119 *ap.* Steph. Byz. 209.1-2 *s.v.* Γλαύκου δῆμος) says that a deme in Lycia was called after him. He was supposedly buried underneath Mt. Telandros (Quint. Smyrn. 4.7-8), by the river that took his name.[157] The local hero Kakasbos was equated with Herakles.[158] There is even an east-Lycian hero mentioned by Quintus Smyrnaeus (8.101-05), called Chlemos, who resided on the River Limyros and who is so obscure in Greek literature that one can only assume that he was a minor Lycian hero who finally made his way into Greek mythology.[159]

A number of other possible deities are known, but of most of them, so few details survive that it is not worth taking time in this appendix to examine them.[160]

12 *Temples and other cult sites*

Archaeological evidence on the ground for Lycian cult sites is, frankly, lacking. There are very few Classical period temples known. The temples of Artemis and Apollo from the Letoön have already been mentioned. The acropolis of Xanthos has two Classical temples,[161] one of which was identi-

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[154] Demargne 1974: pl. 52.3.

[155] Borchhardt 1968: 170 says that the Tlos relief depicts a panther hunt, and not the Chimaira; but Fellows 1841: 36-37 was certain that it was the Chimaira.

[156] Pandaros may be connected with the possible proper name on Lycian inscriptions, *Pñtreñne* (*TAM* i 94.6, 102.3*e*, 109.6, 112.6; N 320.*a*.39); see Neumann 1974: 111, but cf. Laroche 1979: 75, 114 n. 6; Melchert 1993a: 55; Neumann 1996: 148 suggest that is a demotic. The name usually appears in the form of *Pñtrẽñnehi*, an epithet occasionally applied to Ẽni Qlahi Ebijehi, for which see Bryce 1981: 82-83.

[157] Other references to Glaukos: Hom. *Il.* 2.876-77; 6.119-236; 7.13-16; 12.102-04; 12.309-93; 16.492; 16.509-48; 16.593-99; 17.140-82; Pind. *Ol.* 13.60; Hdt. 1.147; Apollod. *Epit.* 3.35; Quint. Smyrn. 3.214-85; 4.1-12; 8.102-05.

[158] Robert 1946: 38-73. *Erikle* is found in the Lycia B text of the Inscribed Pillar (*TAM* i 44.*d*.6 and 17), taken by Neumann 1996: 148 as equivalent to Ἡρακλῆς, but possibly as a personal name (cf. Bechtel 1917: no. 573).

[159] If this tradition goes back to before the fifth century, that would demonstrate that in pre-Classical times Limyra was a site of some importance.

[160] See Bryce 1986: 179, 180-81, 187-89 for details.

[161] Metzger 1963: 29-38, 40-42.

fied as the precinct of Malija, Artemis and the Basileus Kaunios thought to be mentioned on the Inscribed Pillar;[162] but as already pointed out, it seems more likely that said precinct was in Kaunos. Beyond that, there is one temple recently discovered in the vicinity of Kyaneai.[163] Of other cult centres, the only one that seems to me to be securely identified is the Sarpedoneion, though there is a monument from Apollonia identified as a dynastic tomb[164] which is perhaps better identified as a cult shrine of some form.

13 *Religious offices*

A number of offices are known from the Lycian inscriptions that appear to be religious in nature:[165] *akhãtza*, *kumaza* and perhaps *uwehi*[166] and *θurtta-*,[167] and possibly also *mahinaza*.[168] The only one of these that is certainly religious in nature is *kumaza*, which is, as is known from the Letoön Trilingual (N 320.*b*.8), is the equivalent of the Greek ἱερεύς; as far as the others are concerned, they must remain a subject for debate.[169] Of considerable interest is the way that the priest of the cult of Basileus Kaunios set up in Xanthos in 337 (N 320.*a*.9-18, *b*.8-20) has been provided for. He and his successors were made free from property dues, and were maintained by an annual grant from Xanthos.

There is much else that could be said about Lycian religion; this appendix, for instance, has hardly touched upon the matter of oracular activity in Lycia.[170] One can only conclude by saying, once again, that much of what has been said can be no more than informed speculation.

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162 Neumann 1979: 260.

163 Kolb, Kupke 1992: 61, 66 fig. 104.

164 Wurster 1976: 40 (misinterpreted by Keen 1992a: 56 n. 19); Kjeldsen, Zahle 1976.

165 For references, see Bryce 1986: 130; Melchert 1993a: 8, 35 (cf. 36), 39, 86.

166 Bryce 1986: 132, but cf. Melchert 1993a: 86, who believes it, when used as a substantive, to mean 'cowherd'!

167 *θurtta-* is certainly a title, or some term of relationship (Melchert 1993a: 83), and the contexts seem possibly to suggest some form of priesthood (Bryce 1986: 135, however, says "the meaning ... is quite obscure").

168 Melchert 1993a: 39; possibly 'prophet' (so Laroche 1979: 108).

169 See Bryce 1986: 131-32.

170 For which see Bryce 1986: 193-202; 1996: 46-50.

APPENDIX THREE

LYCIA AND THE LUKKA LANDS

The location of the Lukka Lands remains uncertain, partly due to the almost total absence of the Late Bronze Age in Lycia's archaeological record, but it seems likely that the Lukka Lands occupied much of what later became Caria[1] and Lycia and possibly part of Pisidia as well, a fact which may be reflected in later Greek traditions of a link between the Lycians and the Carians. A possible reconstruction of the settlement pattern is suggested below,[2] though it should be pointed out that some of the sites, particularly those on the coast which are attested only by archaeological and not textual evidence (e.g. Knidos and Iasos), may not in fact be Lukka settlements but either Minoan/Mycenaean settlements or originally native settlements that were subsequently taken over by Aegean settlers, as is perhaps the case with Millawanda/Miletos. In such contacts probably lies the germ of the Greek tradition of a Cretan origin for the Lycians.

Of the sites that lie within Lycia, most are suggested on textual and linguistic grounds;[3] very few sites for the Late Bronze Age are supported by any form of archaeological remains and those that are rarely have more than a few pottery fragments (for the evidence, see below). This lack of Bronze Age evidence in Lycia itself is not reflected in the northern fringes of the peninsular, especially in the Elmalı region. There are a number of Bronze Age mounds on the plain (at least eight),[4] and an Early Bronze Age site at Karataş was excavated in the 1960s and 1970s;[5] also a Mycenaean

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1 See Carruba 1996: 37.

2 The basic scheme for the geography of Late Bronze Age Anatolia used here is that appearing in Garstang, Gurney 1959; I largely accept the view of the much disputed geography of the Lukka Lands put forward in Garstang, Gurney 1959: 75-82 (a view now abandoned by Gurney 1992: 219). Alternative propositions, such as those placing Millawanda in eastern Lycia (cf. Otten 1993) or in the Propontis (Mellaart 1982: 376) are not taken into account. For a generally differing view concerning settlement in Lycia itself to that presented here, see Bryce 1974b; 1979; 1986: 1-9; I personally have doubts about much of Bryce's arguments (his proposition of a group of Lukka settlements in Lykaonia is possible, but his suggestion that they formed part of the Lukka Lands mentioned in the Hittite records seems doubtful; possibly Lykaonia was an early settlement area of the Lukka people before they moved further west), but the questions he raises are important. The most recent discussions are Bryce 1992, Gurney 1992, Börker-Klähn 1993, Ötten 1993 and Mellink 1995a: 35-37.

3 On toponyms see now Mellink 1995b.

4 Ormerod 1909-1910: 92-93; Mellaart 1954: 192, 203; Coulton 1993a: 80 and n. 7.

5 Mellaart 1954: 224; Mellink 1964; 1965; 1966; 1967; 1968; 1969a; 1970; 1971; 1972b:

sherd has been found at Beylerbey, near Elmalı.[6]

Antiphellos. Included from the fragment of what may be a Canaanite amphora found in the hills above Kaş by a member of the Institute for Nautical Archaeology,[7] and the assumption that the Ulu Burun shipwreck was either leaving, or more probably heading for, Antiphellos when it sank.[8] At one point Habesos (reported by Plin. *HN* 5.28.100 as the original name of Antiphellos) was identified by Garstang with the Arzawan city of Apasas, but such an identification was later rejected by Garstang and Gurney;[9] if a number of other cities in Lycia can be identified as being in the Lukka Lands, both east and west of Antiphellos, then it can hardly be entertained that Antiphellos was in Arzawa.

Araxa. Stone tools have been found here.[10]

Arneai. Identified by Carruba[11] with Arinna, but see p. 218 below.

Arykanda. Included solely on the grounds of the *-nda* termination of its name,[12] which might indicate its existence in the second millennium. There is no archaeological evidence, but the excavation team, despite actively looking, have failed to find much evidence in the city dating to before the third century, despite some Lycian rock-cut tombs outside the city which indicate that it was inhabited in pre-Hellenistic times;[13] so the absence of Bronze Age remains does not necessarily prove anything.

Dereağzı. Bronze Age pottery has been found.[14]

Kadyanda. Included solely from the *-nda* termination of its name. Mayer and Garstang suggested that Kuaduuaš was Kadyanda.[15]

Kalynda. Included from the *-nda* termination of its name. Identified by Carruba with **(Kuwa)kuwaluwa(n)ta*, though he admits Kadyanda as another possibility.[16]

257-61; 1973; 1974; 1975. Full publication is planned in six volumes, of which two, Eslick 1992 and Warner 1994, have appeared.

6 French 1969: 73 n. 17, 90 fig. 23; Mee 1978: 124.

7 Bass 1986: 296.

8 For the Ulu Burun wreck, see Bass 1985; 1986; 1987a; 1987b; Pulak 1988; Bass *et al.* 1989. Tritsch believed that there were no Bronze Age remains to be found at Antiphellos (cited in Bryce 1974a: 112; but see the remarks of Mellink, quoted in the same article).

9 Garstang, Gurney 1959: 84.

10 See also Biernoff 1964: 33-35 for stone tools at Araxa.

11 Carruba 1996: 32.

12 For the name see now Neumann 1991.

13 See Bayburtluoğlu 1993: 119.

14 Morganstern 1980: 211.

15 Mayer, Garstang 1923: 42.

16 Carruba 1996: 32-33.

Kandyba. Identified by Garstang and Gurney[17] with Hinduwa, which appears in the Indictment of Madduwatta (*CTH* 47).

Limyra. As this city had the Lycian name *Zẽmure*, it is almost certainly to be identified with Zumarri, which appears twice in the Indictment of Madduwatta, both times in the context of lists of territories seized by Madduwatta (*CTH* 47, rev. 29 [restored], 57).[18] The similarity between the Hittite name and the Lycian seems obvious[19] to the non-linguist, and linguistically, the two words have exactly the same consonants.[20] It certainly seems as close as those connections made between *Arinna* and *Arñna*, and *Dalawa* and *Tlawa* (p. 218). In addition there have been found possible Bronze Age (LH IIIB-C type) potsherds.[21] One might also note the existence of the Limyran hero Chlemos in later versions of the Trojan myths (Quint. Smyrn. 8.101-05).

Oinoanda. Identified with the city Wijanawanda mentioned in the Annals of Muršili II.[22] Note, however, that Wijanawanda appears to be an Arzawan settlement (this does not necessarily discount the identification; p. 217). The Bronze Tablet from Bo azköy contains a name which is almost certainly equivalent to Wijanawanda,[23] and the name Winjanawanda is found on the Yalburt Monument.[24]

Patara. Apparently suggested by Tritsch as the only possible Bronze Age site in Lycia,[25] Patara is identified by Poetto with Pata on the Yalburt Monument.[26] Closely associated with Xanthos as that city's port in Classical times (p. 60), it possibly fulfilled the same role in the second millennium. It was

Phellos. From the Greek name this city was clearly closely connected with Antiphellos in Classical times, and the association could well date to the second millennium; hence if Antiphellos was occupied then Phellos perhaps was.

Phoinike.[27] Probably the port of Limyra in Classical times (p. 226), though

[17] Garstang, Gurney 1959: 80.

[18] There is also a Hittite place-name *Zimriya*; see del Monte, Tischler 1978: 503; I owe this reference to Prof. Neumann. When Garstang and Gurney published their work, no clue existed as to the identification of the name *Zumarri*.

[19] Prof. Neumann has informed me in a letter that Prof. Eichner has hinted at this connection to him verbally.

[20] I am indebted to Prof. Melchert for this information.

[21] See Mellink 1983: 435, 436.

[22] *CTH* 61. See Cornelius 1958a: 294-95; cf. Laroche 1969: 61 no. 17.

[23] Otten 1988.

[24] Poetto 1993; Carruba 1996: 32.

[25] See Bryce 1976b: 30 n. 89.

[26] Poetto 1993; Carruba 1996: 32, 39.

[27] For the identification of this site as modern Finike, see pp. 225-27.

the association may not predate the fourth century. The name of the town, however, may indicate some connection with Phoenician traders,[28] which could easily date into the second millennium; but the name may just as easily derive from Greek *phoenix* meaning a date-palm, of which there many around Lycia.

Pinara. Possibly to be identified with Pina(ta),[29] mentioned in Hittite documents.[30] A cult of the traditional hero Pandaros is known (Str. 14.3.5 [665]); and Pinaros was reported by Panyassis (F 18 K *ap.* Steph. Byz. 633.13-14 *s.v.* Τρεμίλη) as one of the children of Tremiles, founder of Lycia (along with Tloos, Xanthos, and Kragos).[31]

Seroiata. Bronze Age pottery was found.[32]

Sidyma. Included principally on name form.

Sura. Possibly, since the Lycian name of the site seems to be *Sura*,[33] to be identified with Suruta, which appears in the Indictment of Madduwatta, as another of Madduwatta's conquests (*CTH* 47, rev. 30), and again in the Annals of Muršili II, in the third year, when Uhha-zitis, king of Arzawa, refused to give up to Muršili refugees from Huwarsanassa, Attarimma and Suruta (*CTH* 61.iii.28, 31, 33). Linguistically the case is not as sound as that which links *Zumarri* and *Zẽmure.*[34] The Hittite name has an extra syllable compared to the Lycian, and would require an alternative Luwian form **Suruda* as its origin,[35] but it is not linguistically impossible either. The flight into Arzawa is a further possible problem. Garstang and Gurney[36] place this between the Maiandros and Hermos valleys, a long way from Lycia, so one is left with the question of what men from Sura are doing in a position where they could flee into Arzawa. This would not, however, be the only instance in which cities separated by a fair distance are

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[28] For Phoenician names in Lycia, see Besnier 1914: 447; Buschmann 1988: 3-4.

[29] Poetto 1993; Mellink 1995a: 36; Carruba 1996: 32.

[30] Milawata Letter: Hoffner 1982; Singer 1983: 216; Bryce 1985: 13-23; Emirgazi V: Singer 1983: 216; Bryce 1985: 18, 20; Kohlmeyer 1993: 41; Yalburt Monument: Özgüç, Temizer 1988: xxv-xxvii, pll. 85-95, figs. 60-63; Hawkins 1990: 306, 313 n. 60; 1992: esp. 264.

[31] The location of Kragos (the existence of which is attested by Str. 14.3.5 [665]) is as yet unidentified, but presumably it was near Mt. Kragos. Its identification with Sidyma was suggested by Spratt, Forbes 1847: 300, and Benndorf, Niemann 1884: 60 (and most recently accepted by Slatter 1994: 137), but rejected by Kalinka (*TAM* ii.i, p. 62).

[32] Borchhardt, Wurster 1974: 532.

[33] Known Lycian texts only attest the word *Surezi* (*TAM* i 84.1, 3, 7), 'of Sura' (Melchert 1993a: 65); from this it seems likely that the actual Lycian name was **Sura* (*GHHIL*, 232, though not definite. For the etymology of the name, see Neumann 1962: 204-07.

[34] As Prof. Neumann has noted in a letter to me.

[35] Again I am indebted to Prof. Melchert for this information.

[36] Garstang, Gurney 1959: 83-100; see also Cornelius 1958a: 395; 1958b: 10; Huxley 1960: 33; Macqueen 1968: 175. Such a view was opposed by Götze 1957: 49, 84, 102, map (cf. 1928: 148; 1940: 23; Barnett 1953: 78; Laroche 1970: 117-18).

mentioned as being associated with one another, and it is possible that the men of Sura had come north for some reason. This problem, however, may perhaps be eliminated anyway, since Bryce makes a very strong case[37] for reviving the old placement of Arzawa in Pamphylia and Pisidia, which makes the identification more plausible, particularly if the identification of Attarimma with Termessos is accepted (below).

Telandros. Identified by Carruba with **Kuwala(n)tarna* on the Yalburt Monument.[38]

Telemessos. A stirrup jar was found here, which is possibly either LH IIIA or IIIB.[39] Carruba[40] identifies it with Kuwalapassa, usually identified with Colbasa in Pisidia.[41]

Termessos. Identified by Börker-Klähn[42] with Attarimma, which appears in *CTH* 47, *CTH* 61, and the Tawagalawa letter (*CTH* 181). This would certainly accord with a placement of the Arzawa lands in Pamphylia/Pisidia, as mentioned above.

Tlos. On the basis of its Lycian name, Tlawa, identified by Götze with Dalawa, from *CTH* 47;[43] Götze warns, however, that this is a linguistic, and not a geographical equation, and that there is another city called Tlos in Pisidia.[44] However, some second-millennium tin-bronze items, a flat adze, half of a double axe and a flat dagger blade, have been recovered from Lycian Tlos.[45] Bellerophon and Sarpedon had demes named after them here in Classical times (*TAM* ii 48.11, 548.36, 590.4 [Bellerophon]; 597*a*.2), and Bellerophon's tomb was supposedly there (Quint. Smyrn. 10.162-63). Skylakeus, companion of Glaukos at Troy, was a native, according to a tradition recorded by the same author (10.147-66).

Xanthos. Usually identified with Arinna, but recently with Awarna (p. 57).[46] Sarpedon was associated with the site (p. 210), which may indicate Bronze Age activity. It is also not impossible that the Letoön sanctuary existed in the late second millennium (p. 195).

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[37] Bryce 1974a: 103-11; 1976b: 17-32. I would not go as far as accepting his suggestion that Arzawa included Lycia (thus reviving Garstang's identification of Apasas with Habesos; see p. 215 above). Gurney 1989: 78 places Arzawa in Lycia/Pisidia on his map.

[38] Carruba 1996: 32-33.

[39] Waters, Forsdyke 1930: pl. 10.24; Mee 1978: 145.

[40] Carruba 1996: 27.

[41] Garstang, Gurney 1959.

[42] Börker-Klähn 1993: 62.

[43] Götze 1928: 153-54; followed by Garstang, Gurney 1959: 80; Bryce 1974: 399; del Monte, Tischler 1978: 389 *s.v.* 'Talawa'; Mellink 1995a: 35.

[44] Gurney 1992: 219 now believes that Dalawa is Pisidian Tlos.

[45] Przeworski 1939: 30, 40, 49, pl. ix.8-10; Moorey, Schweitzer 1974: 112-15.

[46] See also Biernoff 1964: 33-35 for stone tools at Xanthos.

The following identifications have also been suggested, connecting sites in Lycia with areas generally reckoned to be outside the Lukka Lands of Hittite record, but in general these seem more doubtful: Kuwalia = Cabalis;[47] Mira = Milyas;[48] or the alternative, Mira = Myra[49] (on the scheme proposed here, classical city Myra would be within Lukka territory).

It should be emphasised that all the linguistic equations above are subject to the twin cautions (i) that they could merely represent names that have been moved from Late Bronze Age sites to first millennium ones,[50] and (ii) that references to a settlement name in two different texts do not necessarily refer to the same site, i.e. there could be more than one Dalawa (there is certainly more than one Arinna, though the other is located much nearer the Hittite heartlands).[51]

From *CTH* 181, it seems evident that the Lukka Lands extended as far north as Millawanda/Miletos; the border, such as existed, was probably along the Maiandros valley. From this, and from the absence of substantial Bronze Age remains in Lycia (as can be seen from the above list; the only Late Bronze Age remain not mentioned is the Cape Gelidonya shipwreck),[52] it has been argued that the Lukka were only in Caria, and did not move into Lycia until the early first millennium, taking a number of their town names with them.[53] Whilst accepting that the Lukka probably settled in Caria first, and then moved into Lycia (this is the easiest way of entering Lycia), and that Caria was the centre of gravity of the Lukka Lands, it seems unlikely that the settlement in Lycia can be later than *circa* the fourteenth century, for reasons argued above (p. 27). The reference to Arinna in *CTH* 142 (15th century) is probably then to Xanthos. It does, however, seem likely that the Lukka were driven out of Caria around 1000, possibly by the mysterious Lelegians.

From the Hittite records the Lukka Lands in Caria appear to have included the following settlements:[54] Waliwanda (= Alabanda), Iyalanda (= Alinda), Wallarimma (= Hyllarima) and Utima (= Idyma). To these can perhaps be added Idrias (later Stratonikeia), according to Stephanus

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47 Although there are three Bronze Age mounds in the Cibyratis, as well as the evidence for Oinoanda (p. 216), so it clearly was inhabited at some point in the second millennium; see Coulton 1993a: 80.

48 For Mira and Kuwaliya as Milyas and Cabalis see Mayer, Garstang 1923: 42; 1925: 28-29; cf. Sundwall 1913: 102 on **kabala* and 149 on **miluwa*.

49 Tritsch 1950: 497.

50 As Bryce 1986: 26.

51 See Garstang, Gurney 1959: 7, 9-12, 19-21, 66, 67, 98, 116, 121.

52 For the Cape Gelidonya wreck, see Bass *et al.* 1967.

53 E.g. Bryce 1986: 2, 6-8. Other locations suggested for the Lukka Lands include Lykaonia (Bryce 1974b: 357-58, though he admits that there are significant problems with confining the Lukka lands to Lykaonia; cf. Bryce 1976b: 69) and (somewhat implausibly) the Propontis region (Mellaart 1982: 376).

54 See Garstang, Gurney 1959: 75-82.

founded by the Lycians (696.10-11 *s.v.* Χρυσαορίς), and Mylasa, the name of which perhaps preserves the *-mil-* syllable found in *Trm̃mili*.[55]

This element may also be in the city-name of Millawanda/Miletos,[56] claimed by Ephorus (F 127; p. 24) to be a Lycian foundation. Miletos may have started as a Lycian settlement, but it was probably resettled by the Minoans, and by the fourteenth century was firmly under the influence of the Mycenaeans. Archaeological evidence confirms that Idrias and Mylasa were settled at this time, and adds Iasos, Kaunos, Knidos, Mu la and Müskebi to the list of settlements in the area.[57] Didyma and Loryma (and Pisidian Tlos) ought perhaps to be added also, on the grounds of the name-form.

There remain three cities in the Lukka Lands mentioned in the Hittite records whose locations it is not possible to be certain of: Hursanassa/Huwarsanassa[58] and Mutamutassa, which perhaps are in eastern Lycia, and Zumanti, which is perhaps in northern Caria. The general location is deduced from their appearance in the indictment of Madduwatta, where Zumanti appears before Wallarimma and Iyalanti (= Iyalanda), both of which seem to have been in Caria (p. 219), whilst Mutamutassa and Hursanassa appear in the same document after Zumarri and either side of Attarimma and Suruta (pp. 216-18 for the locations of these sites).

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[55] Cited in Bean 1978; 1980: 3.

[56] For the Millawanda/Miletos identification (often disputed): Garstang, Gurney 1959: 80-81.

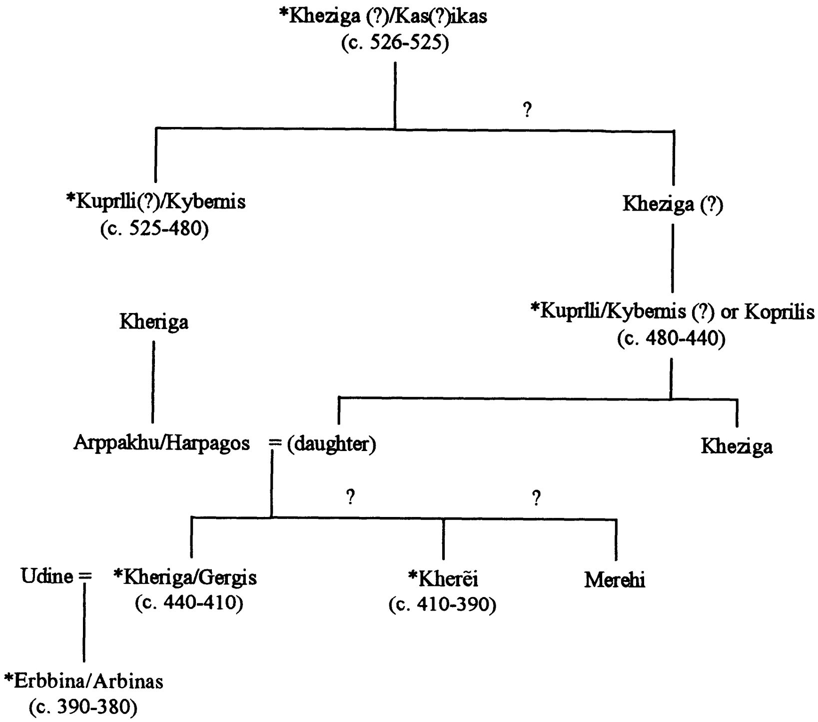
[57] For evidence, see e.g. Hope Simpson, Lazenby 1973: nos. 174-79. As already noted (see p. 214 above), however, some or all of these could be purely Minoan/Mycenaean in origin.

[58] An identification with the Carian Chersonesos was proposed in *AJA* 47 (1943) 42, but rejected by Garstang, Gurney 1959: 81 n. 6, on philological grounds and on the basis that Hursanassa was a town, not a peninsula. Such an identification would be difficult due to its close connection with Attarimma and Suruta in *CTH* 61, if these are correctly identified with Sura and Termessos. The identification has recently reappeared in Börker-Klähn 1993: 55.

APPENDIX FOUR

FAMILY TREE OF THE XANTHIAN DYNASTY

(Lycian name/Greek name)



* indicates a ‘king’ of Lycia (with regnal dates)

APPENDIX FIVE

THE DATE OF THE PERSIAN INVASION OF LYCIA

The conquest of Lycia is generally thought to have fallen some time between the fall of Sardis and that of Babylon;[1] this belief derives from Herodotus' statement that Cyrus had subdued all the mainland (of Asia) before attacking Babylon (1.178). This seems likely to be true, though the warning should be given that it is clear from Herodotus' introduction to his account of Cyrus' conquest of Babylon (1.177) that the campaigns of Harpagos in western Asia were at least partially concurrent with those of Cyrus in the eastern and central parts of the continent; it is possible that the chronological relationship between the falls of Lycia and of Babylon is not as certain as sometimes suggested. To get closer to an actual date a careful examination of Herodotus' account of the events following the fall of Sardis is necessary; from this it seems likely that a date of *c.* 542-539 is correct (see p. 224 below).

The first thing to be done is to reconstruct a relative chronology of Persia's conquest of western Asia Minor. According to Herodotus, Cyrus headed back to Ekbatana after capturing Sardis (1.153.4); he had, however, remained in Lydia long enough to receive envoys sent by Sparta in response to an appeal by the Ionian Greeks (Hdt. 1.152.2-153.1). To allow time for Kroisos to bring his army to Cappadocia, fight Cyrus, return to Lydia and disband his force, the siege of Sardis must have taken place late in the campaigning season; this is confirmed by Herodotus' report (1.177.3-4) that just before Cyrus arrived, Kroisos requested his allies to send help in the early spring, which was then five months away.[2] Cyrus cannot then have left Sardis earlier than the very end of the year, and doubts about his making the journey in winter, coupled with doubts about the Spartan legation crossing the Aegean in winter, point to a departure in the spring of the following year.

The revolt of Paktyes, the Lydian left by Cyrus in charge of local finances (Hdt. 1.153.3), then followed, according to Herodotus as soon as Cyrus had left Sardis (1.154.1); but the fact that the Persian King himself did not immediately turn about to deal with the problem might possibly

[1] Metzger 1963: 18 n. 11, 80; Childs 1981: 55 n. 1. The fall of Babylon is dated to 539, according to the Nabonidus Chronicle (*ABC* Chronicle 7.iii.16; see Grayson 1975: 110).

[2] Mallowan 1972: 7 n. 34, suggests November as a date for the siege.

suggest that he was rather further away. This revolt, then, should be sometime in mid-year, and this year probably also saw the revolt's suppression by Mazares (Hdt. 1.156.2-161). Mazares then died before south-west Asia Minor was fully pacified, and his place was taken by Harpagos (Hdt. 1.161-62.1).

It is difficult to see how Harpagos could have commenced his first campaign, against Ionia (Hdt. 1.162.2), before the following year. This was a hard-fought campaign, as Herodotus makes clear (1.169.1), so Harpagos' next campaign, against Caria, Kaunos and Lycia (Hdt. 1.171.2), is unlikely to have been launched before the year after that, particularly as Ionians were incorporated into his forces for this campaign; depending on how fierce Ionian resistance actually was, it may have taken two years to conquer the area (any longer seems unlikely, though). It is possible that the whole of this Carian and Lycian campaign fell within a single year, as on the whole Carian resistance seems to have been negligible (Hdt. 1.174.1); Pedasos, however, the one place which did put up a show of opposition, provided a great deal of trouble for Harpagos (Hdt. 1.175).

The best conclusion that can be reached is that Harpagos entered Lycia at the earliest three years after the fall of Sardis, but possibly four, or even as many as five. If one assumes gaps in between the various campaigns, then an even larger difference in the relative chronology of the two events could be arrived at, but there is no evidence in Herodotus to support such an assumption, and it tends to run somewhat against the usual trend of Persian campaigning in the sixth century (Herodotus certainly implies that Cyrus was campaigning constantly in the eastern sections of the empire at this time).

If the siege of Sardis can be dated absolutely, then the attack on Xanthos can be dated to within a few years. To this end one must first deal with the evidence of the Nabonidus Chronicle, which notes that in the ninth year of the rule of Nabonidos of Babylon (547) an expedition of Cyrus was made across the Tigris and the king of a foreign land was defeated (*Babylonian Chronicle* 7.ii.15-17). The territory against which this campaign was fought has often been restored as Lydia.[3] This restoration has been queried by Mallowan, and Cargill has convincingly demonstrated that it is highly conjectural, and cannot be supported if it clashes with other evidence.[4] As is shown below, this is in fact the case. An alternative restoration of Lycia itself in the *Chronicle*[5] should be rejected, since it is clear from Herodotus' account that Cyrus did not lead the Persian conquest of Lycia; in any case the invasion of Lycia cannot possibly have been as early

3 Smith 1924: 120; 1944: 36, 135 nn.; Grayson 1975: 21, 107, 282.
4 Mallowan 1972: 12; Cargill 1977.
5 Suggested by Mallowan 1972: 12; 1985: 414.

as 547, since Herodotus' account suggests that at least two years elapsed between Cyrus' deposition of Astyages, dated by the *Chronicle* to 550 (7.ii.1-2),[6] and Kroisos' invasion of Cappadocia;[7] the Persian conquest of Lycia was at least three years after the latter event.

It is now necessary to turn to the dates in Greek sources. The late chronographer Eusebius gives a date of 546 for the end of the reign of Kroisos. Eusebius' dates are, however, unreliable, and to be used with extreme caution. In this case more confusion is added because he records Kroisos' expedition against Cyrus under 549; such a chronology cannot be reconciled with the account of Herodotus, in which Kroisos' expedition and the fall of Sardis occur in the same year. In any case, if the date for Astyages' fall is correct, then 549 is too early for Kroisos' campaign (where the earliest possible date, as already seen, is two years after Astyages' fall, i.e. 548).

The best guess at a date can be deduced from Herodotus, as has been pointed out by Wade-Gery.[8] His argument is that it is clear from Herodotus that Kroios was aware of the victory of Peisistratos at Pallene; this can be dated to 546, so Kroisos cannot have launched his campaign before 545. Wade-Gery prefers 544, a date arrived at from Herodotus' report (1.82.1) that Kroisos' appeal to Sparta coincided with the battle of Thyrea between Sparta and Argos; this latter was separated from the next Spartan-Argive battle, Sepeia in 494, by a fifty-year truce. Although it may be over-simplistic to view the gap between Thyrea and Sepeia as exactly fifty years, it cannot be any less, so that, unless Herodotus is to be completely disregarded (which seems unsafe in the absence of any other reliable evidence) the fall of Sardis must be dated to 545 or 544, thus giving a date of *c.* 542-539 for the conquest of Lycia.[9]

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[6] Grayson 1975: 106. This date too has been queried; Cargill 1977: 109 n. 78.

[7] Between the fall of Astyages and the invasion of Cappadocia, Kroisos sent three embassies to Delphi (Hdt. 1.46-55), the first of which was away from Sardis for a hundred days before putting their question (1.47.1), and then sent embassies around the Greek states seeking alliances. Even if one assumes that Kroisos had sent out these latter embassies at the same time as some of those to the Pythian oracle (which is possible, though Herodotus clearly says that the first embassy did not go to the Greek states until the last had returned from Delphi), the Delphic embassies alone must have taken up the best part of a year, if not two.

[8] Wade-Gery 1951: 219 n. 38.

[9] According to How, Wells 1912: I, 98, the Parian Marble and the chronographer Xanthus of Lydia both give the date of 541 for the fall of Kroisos. The published text of the Parian Marble (*IG* xii 444.58), however, indicates that the date for this event is missing from the inscription.

APPENDIX SIX

THE LOCATION OF PHOINIKE[1]

The identification of Thucydides' Φοινίκη (2.69.2) as a site on the Lycian coast, rather than the traditional identification as Phoenicia, is convincingly argued, in two separate articles, by Dickinson and by Buschmann.[2] As pointed out by both scholars, καὶ τῆς ἐκεῖθεν ἠπείρου in Thucydides' text (p. 125) carries a better sense if Phoinike was in the same general vicinity as Phaselis.[3] Furthermore, Thucydides elsewhere never uses the term *Phoinike* to refer to Phoenicia, always using οἱ Φοίνικες.[4]

Dickinson's identification of *Phoinike* with the modern city of Finike is to be preferred to that of Buschmann with the Phoenicus which is mentioned only by Livy (37.16.6).[5] Since Livy says this latter was less than two miles east of Patara, it must have been in the bay of Kalkan.[6] This is the only certain reference to this particular Phoenicus. There are, however, a number of references to a place named Φοῖνιξ or some variation of that in eastern Lycia. The least important of these is in Strabo (14.3.8 [666]), who gives Φοινικοῦς as an alternative name of the Lycian Mt. Olympos, which stood over the settlement of the same name. However, Strabo never says that the city was ever called Phoinikous.[7]

Other references could well relate to Finike. Plutarch relates that Alexander marched along the coast from Xanthos 'up to *Phoinike* and Cilicia' (μέχρι τῆς Φοινίκης καὶ Κιλικίας, *Alex.* 17.4-5). Since a translation 'Phoenicia and Cilicia' places the countries in the reverse order to that in which Alexander would have encountered them, Stark and Green have identified the former location with Finike, though Le Roy rejects this idea;[8]

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1 See now on this matter, Zimmermann 1993b.

2 Dickinson 1979; Buschmann 1988: 1-4; see now Hornblower 1991b, 355-56. Buschmann apparently arrived at his conclusion independently of Dickinson's article. For the traditional view: Gomme 1956: 203 and refs.; Lewis 1977: 61-62.

3 Dickinson 1979: 213; Buschmann 1988: 1.

4 Dickinson 1979: 213 n. 7.

5 Dickinson 1979; Buschmann 1988: 4-6.

6 Beaufort 1818: 7; Leake 1824: 184; also Society of Dilettanti 1840: 80; wrongly named as Kemer by Hornblower 1991b: 356.

7 Though it is the preferred location for Thucydides' Phoinike in Zimmermann 1993b.

8 Stark 1958b: 114 n. 23; Green 1991: 202; Le Roy 1980: 53. The interpretation of Alexander's route through Lycia offered by Bosworth (1980: 158; 1988: 50), that he came as far as Xanthos and then struck overland through Milyas in the vicinity of Elmalı, not reaching the coast again until Phaselis (and thus bypassing Finike), does not seem very likely in the light of the prac-

part of his reason for rejecting it is a lack of other references to *Phoinike*/Finike before late antiquity. If Stark and Green are correct to reject the identification of *Phoinike* as Phoenicia, Plutarch's site could be the same as Livy's; but Finike seems more likely. Constantine Porphyrogenitus (*de Thematibus* 1.14) places a river and city by the name of *Phoinix* between Myra and Phaselis; this clearly cannot be Livy's Phoenicus.[9] The *Stadiasmos* (228) also places a site of this name in this vicinity (although the text is corrupt at this point). *Vita Nicolai Sionitae* 37.4-5 mentions a site *Phoinix* as the port for Myra, and Theophanes (*Chronographia* p. 345) mentions it as a station for the Byzantine fleet in the seventh century A.D. Theophanes could be referring to the site mentioned by Livy, but a site in eastern Lycia is almost certain for the site in the *Vita*; Buschmann accepts the attribution of this reference to Finike.[10]

There was also in late antiquity a bishop 'of the *Phoinikoi*' (ὁ Φοινίκων, *Notitiae Episcopatarum* 10.374; 13.226).[11] Buschmann argues that since this bishop is followed in the lists by one 'of the Patarans' (ὁ Πατάρων, 10.377; 13.229) Livy's Phoenicus is meant,[12] but given that there was also a bishop at Myra, a diocese in between Patara and Myra would not be very large; it is more likely that the three bishoprics covered western, central and eastern Lycia. Finally, in the mediaeval portolans a site or locality is identified by numerous variations of the name Phoinix.[13] There can be little doubt that the modern site of Finike is meant in this context. Hellenistic ruins were known at Finike in the nineteenth century.[14]

It is clear then that of the places named Phoinix or similar in Lycia, Finike was the most important; it is also attested archaeologically, which the other sites are not; Thucydides' *Phoinike* should therefore be grouped with the bulk of the citations, which gives more weight to *tes ekeithen epeirou*, since Finike is nearer to Phaselis than Phoenicus. Buschmann's placing of *Phoinike* in western Lycia arises partially out of his belief that

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tical difficulties involved in moving armies through Lycia; rather than march straight over the Ak Dagı, as Bosworth implies, it is far more likely that he came through central Lycia (Stark 1958b: 113-15) and then invaded Milyas via the Arykandos valley—in which case he would leave the coast in the vicinity of Finike (this is not incompatible with Arr. *Anab.* 1.24.4-6). On this see now Keen 1996c.

[9] *Contra* Bryce 1986: 236.

[10] Buschmann 1988: 3.

[11] Ruge 1941: 429-30.

[12] Buschmann 1988: 4 n. 16.

[13] The site appears as *finica* (portolan of Daniel, A.D. 1130; Carta catalogue, 1339; Murano map, 1450), *Finika* (Idrisi, 1154), *Winke fl.* (Philipp II, 1191), *la finica* (Pisa, 1275), *Finigha* (Sanudo, 1321), *golfo de Firica* (Portolano Uzzano, 1442), *foxe de fenicha* (Portolano Rizo, *c.* 1490), Φοίνικας (Delatte, *c.* 1500) and *Fenike* (Piri Reis, 1521).

[14] Spratt, Forbes 1847: 156.

Lycia was divided into a pro-Athenian west and a pro-Persian east;[15] this division has already been argued against (p. 116).

It seems very likely that Phoinike functioned as the port of Limyra.[16] The reference in *Vita Nicolai Sionitae* to Myra could well be a mistake for Limyra,[17] since Myra had its own port, Andriake (App. *B Civ.* 4.10.82). If this was the case, then Phoinike and Limyra probably had the same relationship as Patara and Xanthos, i.e. the one was part of the polity of the other.

15 Buschmann 1988: 5-6.

16 It has been suggested (E. Akalın, "Unterwasserforschungen in Gökliman", in Borchhardt 1992: 1993: 21) suggests that in Late Antiquity ships also used the harbour of Gökliman, around the coast of a rocky promontory south of Finike (there is a Late Antique monastery at Gök Burun; Foss 1994: 40).

17 A similar mistake has been suspected in Pliny, who tells of near-identical fish oracles in Myra (*HN* 32.17), and in Limyra (31.18.22); see Bean 1978: 143. (The oracle at Myra is that at Sura, also mentioned by Plut. *Mor.* 976c [= *De soll. an.* 23].)

APPENDIX SEVEN

LYCIAN TROOPS AND THEIR EQUIPMENT

It may well be that Lycian mercenaries were regularly employed by the Persians. It has already been mentioned that the mercenaries that served under Tissaphernes against Amorges were quite possibly Lycians (pp. 137-38). A carved stele seen by Texier[1] near Konya (ancient Ikonion) on the border between Pisidia and Lycaonia (cf. Xen. *An.* 1.2.19), probably dating to the mid-fifth century,[2] depicted a warrior armed in Greek dress, but carrying a buckler Texier identified as Lycian.[3] This stele carried an inscription which, though largely destroyed by the time Texier recorded it, may well have been in Lycian.[4] The stele perhaps records the death of a Lycian soldier in the vicinity, presumably in a campaign against one of the recalcitrant Anatolian peoples in the area.[5] It may well be that the Lycians earned much of the silver they coined into money through mercenary service for the Persians,[6] even in the mid-fifth century when they were technically allies of Athens.

This may be a tradition of foreign service that goes back to the Bronze Age; there were Lukka in the Hittite army at the Battle of Kadesh in the thirteenth century.[7] It is certainly one that continues after the Achaemenids; Lycian mercenaries are a common occurrence in the Hellenistic period. Eumenes secured their services in 318 (Diod. 18.61.4-5), they are known to have served under Antigonos Monopthalmos and Demetrios in

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1 Texier 1849: 148-49, pl. CIII; Perrot, Chipiez 1890: II, 224, fig. 359; Reinach 1912: pl. 105.1; Bossert 1942: 86 no. 1121. The stele was lost after Texier saw it. For a full discussion, see now Sekunda 1996: 12-14. Texier and Perrot and Chipiez thought the monument a grave stele; Sekunda 1996: 12 is inclined to suspect that it was originally part of a polygonal wall, because of the relief's asymmetric shape. I think a funerary stele still to be most likely.

2 Texier thought the monument archaic, whilst Bossert thought it Hellenistic. The epichoric inscription, however, suggests a fifth or fourth-century date, and Sekunda 1996: 14 advances that the style points to a date *c.* 450-400, whilst noting that the accuracy of Texier's drawing an the probability that it was executed by a non-Greek hamper dating according to normal artistic criteria.

3 Texier's guess is now supported by the appearance of a monster of some sort on the shield blazon; a very similar emblem has now been found on a series of late fifth-century Lycian coins (Waggonner 1983: no. 708).

4 Or possibly Lydian; see Sekunda 1996: 12.

5 For trouble with Lykaonians and Pisidians in Achaemenid times: Lewis 1977: 56. I am grateful to Dr N.V. Sekunda for discussing this matter with me.

6 So Prof. Bryce (pers. comm.). Cf. Zahle 1989: 172.

7 See Kuhrt 1995: 388.

317, 314 and 312 (Diod. 19.29.3, 69.1, 82.4), and they are also found deserting Lysimachos just before the battle of Ipsos in 301 (Diod. 20.113.3; Polyaen. 4.12.1).[8] Still others are found giving assistance to Aspendos, on the side of Ptolemy I (*SEG* 17 639). On the other hand, it is notable that there are no Lycian forces in any of the Persian armies assembled to repel Alexander.[9]

Homer describes the Lycians as ἀσπισταί, 'shield-fighters' (*Il.* 16.490). Herodotus' list of the forces of Xerxes describes Lycian marines (who may or may not represent the typical appearance of Lycian foot-soldiers in the fifth century) in the following terms (7.92):

> θωρηκοφόροι τε ἐόντες καὶ κνημιδοφόροι, εἶχον δὲ τόξα κρανέϊνα καὶ ὀϊστοὺς καλαμίνους ἀπτέρους καὶ ἀκόντια, ἐπὶ δὲ αἰγὸς δέρματα περὶ τοὺς ὤμους αἰωρεόμενα, περὶ δὲ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι πίλους πτεροῖσι περιεστεφανωμένους· ἐγχειρίδια δὲ καὶ δρέπανα εἶχον.
>
> They were *thorekophoroi* ['cuirassiers'] wearing greaves and carried bows made of cornel-wood, unfeathered arrows made of cane and javelins. They wore skins of goats hung about the shoulders, and felt caps encircled with feathers on their heads. They also carried hand-daggers and *drepana* [scimitars or 'war-sickles'][10]).

Herodotus uses the term *thorekophoroi* on two occasions apart from this; at 7.89 it refers to marines on Egyptian ships, and at 8.13 it refers to a unit of Persians, probably heavy-armed infantry. The term is also used by Xenophon (*Cyr.* 5.3.36), again to refer to infantry.[11] The *thorax* itself seems to have been, at least in Persian service, a scale-mail breastplate (Hdt. 9.22.2).

There are several problems with this account. The first is that this description does not really tally with any artistic representation of soldiers that can be found in Lycia.[12] Most of these[13] depict figures in standard Greek or Persian dress. The second is that the possibility must seriously be entertained that such troops were not actually involved in the expedition of Xerxes, since they are only to be found mentioned in this initial army list.[14]

There are, however, some parallels to Herodotus' description, which may suggest that he was not wholly ignorant. The *drepanon*,[15] which may

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[8] See Saitta 1955: 78 n. 49; Lund 1992: 77.

[9] There *are* Carians at Gaugamela (Arr. Anab. 3.2.3ff.); see Marsden 1964: 33-34.

[10] Sekunda 1996: 11 suggests the slight possibility that a naval context might mean that these were not the typical war-sickles but *dorudrepana*, a long-hafted 'spear-sickle'.

[11] On Persian cavalry 'cuirassiers', see Sekunda, Chew 1992: 25.

[12] Head 1992: 58.

[13] For a representative selection of the considerable number and variety of representations of warriors on Lycian monuments, see Head 1992: 56-58, from which the information following is largely taken.

[14] For a criticism of the army list, see Barkworth 1993, especially 156-67.

[15] On this weapon see now Sekunda 1996.

have been a Carian weapon,[16] but alternatively may be more generally southern Anatolian,[17] is found wielded by figures on the Trysa Heroön.[18] It is also found on the afore-mentioned Konya stele.

The feathered cap also appears on a figure on the Nereid Monument.[19] These caps are reminiscent of those depicted on the reliefs at Medinet Habu in Egypt showing the defeat of the Sea Peoples by the Egyptian Pharaoh Ramesses III.[20] Although the Lukka are not named in connection with this attack on Egypt, they are listed amongst the Sea Peoples participating in an earlier assault on Egypt in the reign of the Pharaoh Merenptah (*c.* 1208).[21] It seems reasonable to suggest that this head-dress was traditional amongst the Lycians, reaching back to the Bronze Age.

It seems quite plausible that overall any Lycian troops serving with Xerxes would have presented an appearance not altogether dissimilar to Greek troops of the time. It is certainly the case that later representations of what are presumed to be Lycian soldiers (e.g. on the grave chamber of the Inscribed Pillar and on the Nereid Monument,[22] or on the Konya stele) generally are armed in Greek fashion. Head believes that most of these representations are of Greek allies or mercenaries serving either for or against Persia.[23] It seems, however, more likely that the artists of the fourth-century Nereid Monument or Trysa or Limyra heroa would wish to depict the soldiers of the men buried within the tomb, in some cases defeating the soldiers of their enemies (likely to be other Lycians, since we know that this is a period of internal strife in Lycia). It may simply be that, having employed Greek artists on the reliefs of these monuments, those artists depicted troops armed in a distinctly Greek manner because that was what they knew; but it is equally probably that, having adopted some Greek customs in their art, the Lycians had also, by the fourth century, adopted Greek military equipment.[24]

The appearance of earlier Lycian troops may be shown by the paintings in the Karaburun II tomb. There lightly-armed infantry are depicted, wearing pale or blue tunics, cloaks, and leggings with garters, unarmoured

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[16] How, Wells 1912: II, 161 *ad* 7.92 (cf. 5.112.2—with Sekunda 1996: 11—for it being used by a Carian).

[17] Sekunda in Sekunda, Chew 1992: 24; Sekunda 1996: 9-14.

[18] Head 1992: 56 fig. 43, 58, 71, pl. 7b; Oberleitner 1994: 36; Sekunda 1996: 14, fig. 10.

[19] Michaelis 1875: 79.

[20] How, Wells 1912: II, 161 *ad* 7.92.

[21] Breasted 1906: 243 sec. 579.

[22] Inscribed Pillar: Demargne 1958: 86-96; Nereid Monument: Childs, Demargne 1989: 306-10.

[23] Head 1992: 57, 58.

[24] For the variety of equipment displayed by soldiers on these reliefs, see Head 1992: 56 fig. 43b, 57 fig. 44a-i, pl. 7b.

save for a hoplite shield, and wielding long daggers and short spears.[25] These soldiers are on the victorious side of the battle scene, which is presumably that of the tomb owner. The question, of course, is then who is this tomb owner? As has been suggested above (p. 108), it may well be that this was a pro-Achaemenid Milyan, rather than a Lycian *per se*. It is worth noting that these figures agree quite well with Herodotus' description of Milyan troops, who 'carried short spears and had their clothes fastened with brooches'[26] (αἰχμάς τε βραχέας εἶχον καὶ εἵματα ἐνεπεπορπέατο, 7.77). Some of the defeated troops in these paintings, who may be Lycians (p. 108), are equipped as typical Greek hoplites.[27]

Two of the other contingents of Anatolian peoples that supposedly served in the army of Xerxes (though if they did, they almost certainly did not serve in the army of Mardonios at the battle of Plataia)[28] carried weaponry of supposedly Lycian origin. One group, unidentifiable due to a lacuna in the text of Herodotus,[29] carried spears described as 'Lycian-made' (7.76),[30] whilst the Lycians' neighbours in Milyas used bows described as 'Lycian' (7.77). Even if these contingents did not actually serve in Xerxes' expedition, this passage seems to provide evidence that weaponry of a Lycian type had at some point been exported to neighbouring native populations. The Konya stele depicted its warrior carrying a two-headed spear (Texier is quite explicit about this[31]), and this may be what Herodotus' 'Lycian-made' spears looked like.[32] On the other hand, the spears wielded by figures on the Karaburun II paintings, who may well be Milyans, have blades at each end of the shaft.[33]

There are some depictions of cavalry. On the Karaburun II tomb a cavalryman is depicted on the victorious side, wearing Persian dress.[34] However, as noted, there is no certainty that this is meant to represent a Lycian. The clearest representation of a Lycian cavalryman is to be found on the Pajawa Sarcophagus. The central figure in the main battle-scene of this monument, probably meant to be Pajawa himself, is depicted riding down

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25 Head 1992: 56 fig. 43a, 69-70, pl. 5a.

26 Tr. de Sélincourt 1996: 398.

27 Head 1992: 56 fig. 43a.

28 See Barkworth 1993: 158.

29 Suggestions for their identity include Pisidians (Burn *ap.* de Sélincourt 1972: 469 n. 2; Marincola *ap.* de Sélincourt 1996: 398 n. 26), not unlikely since they were brigaded with the Cabalians and Milyans (Hdt. 7.77).

30 The texts of Herodotus in fact describe these spears as λυκοεργέας ('wolf-slaying'), but Ath. 486d quotes this passage with the word Λυκιοεργέας, and most commentators accept this (e.g. How, Wells 1912: II, 157); the mss. reading no doubt arose when the work was being copied by someone ignorant of the Lycians.

31 Texier 1849: 148-49. See now Sekunda 1996: 13.

32 Sekunda, Chew 1992: 24.

33 Head 1992: 70, pl. 5a.

34 Head 1992: 56 fig. 43a; Sekunda, Chew 1992: 22, 36 pl. D2.

peltasts[35] at the head of other cavalry. He wears a cuirass, probably of bronze plate,[36] but the most interesting item of his armour is the saddle-adornment that protects the rider's legs. That this is a typical piece of Persian armour is recognized by Bernard.[37] Xenophon terms these thigh-guards *parameridia*,[38] and describes the cavalry of the bodyguard of Cyrus the Great as using them (*Cyr.* 6.4.1, 7.1.2); the bodyguard of Cyrus the Younger also had them (Xen. *An.* 1.8.6).[39] They are regularly seen in art; as well as the Pajawa Sarcophagus they have been found on a now-lost fifth-century relief from Yeniceköy,[40] an Achaemenid cylinder seal, and a 'Greco-Persian' chalcedony gem.[41] In addition to the saddle-armour, there also seems to be a typical 'Lycian' type of saddle cloth, tied with one or two straps across the horse's chest.[42] A similar type of cloth is found on riders depicted on the Amathous Sarcophagus from Cyprus, and it may be that this is another piece of Achaemenid horse-gear.[43]

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[35] Whom Head 1992: 56 fig. 43, 71 & pl. 7c assumes to be Greek mercenaries; it is perhaps more likely that Pajawa's opponents were other Lycians, supporters of Perikle's revolt against Persia (pp. 161-70).

[36] Head 1992: 71.

[37] Bernard 1964: 195-98 (and before him by Anderson 1960: 8).

[38] Head 1992: 35 terms them *parapleuridia*. Bernard 1964: 200 argues that this term is applied by Xenophon (*Cyr.* 6.4.1) to side-armour for chariot-horses, rather than cavalry horses. However, Anderson 1960: 7-8 points out that at *Cyr.* 6.4.1 and *Per. Hipp.* 12.8 *parapleuridia* is an emendation based on Xenophon's distinguishing of the two terms in *Cyr.* 6.4.1-2 Anderson disputes the emendation. Arr. *Tact.* 4.1 makes a distinction between *parameridia* and *parapleuridia*, though he lists both as items that could be worn by armoured cavalry. Cf. Iambl. *Bab.* fr. 1.

[39] Head 1992: 36, 70 pl. 6b; Sekunda, Chew 1992: 25. As Sekunda notes, Xenophon's imaginative description of Cyrus the Great's bodyguard may well have been based on his observation of that of Cyrus the Younger.

[40] Monro 1912: 65-66 & fig. 2; Macridy Bey 1913: 354-55 fig. 5-6. Monro (66) says that the style was reminiscent of early Lycian reliefs.

[41] Head 1992: 38 fig. 25a-c. See also Sekunda, Chew 1992: 22-23.

[42] Xanthos: Metzger 1963: 52-53 pll. 37-39. Karaburun II: Mellink 1971: 253, pl. 54 fig. 22; 1974a: 545-46; 1974b: 356.

[43] Tuplin 1996: 50.

APPENDIX EIGHT

PHASELIS

Phaselis' location is clear from inscriptions found on site, and was demonstrated as long ago as 1838.[1] It was colonized from Lindos on Rhodes in 691/0 (according to Jerome's *Chronicle*),[2] and its existence in the seventh century is confirmed by the discovery of an archaic inscription. The *oikistes* was supposedly Lakios (Aristaenetus F 1, possibly Hellenistic in date; Ath. 7.51 [297e-298a]), a native of either Lindos or Argos,[3] but he is possibly mythical; Athenaeus gives earliest-attested version of the foundation myth citing the fifth/fourth-century writer Herophytus (F 1). The same source indicates that there was an annual sacrifice to Kylabras, dating to the colony's foundation (as does Philostephanus). Phaselis remained purely Greek[4] and culturally distinct from the rest of Lycia in the Achaemenid period;[5] its people were Dorian (Hdt. 2.178.2; Plut. *Cim.* 12).[6]

Whilst Ps.-Scylax (100) and Strabo (14.3.9 [666]) place Phaselis in Lycia,[7] Aristodemus (F 1.45) and the *Suda* (κ 1620 *s.v.* Κιμων Μιλτιάδου) place it in Pamphylia.[8] Timachidas in the Lindos Temple Chronicle places it in Solyma.

This city was one of those that contributed towards the building earlier in the reign of Amasis of the Hellenion at Naukratis (Hdt. 2.178.2), where presumably there was a Phaseliot community.[9] Phaselis may possibly have been involved in the foundation of Naukratis.

The territory of Phaselis was ravaged by Kimon in the run-up to the battle of the Eurymedon and the city captured *c.* 470 (Plut. *Cim.* 12.3-4); Kimon then recruited help from Phaselis for the Eurymedon campaign.

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[1] Fellows 1839 211-12, 328 no. xxviii; see *RE s.v.*

[2] Schafer 1963-1967: 125 argues that the names found at Phaselis indicate that it was a Cilician colony. Whilst prepared to accept the presence of a significant Cilician community here, I see no reason to disregard the sources.

[3] Philostephanus, *FHG* III 29, writing in the third century

[4] Hornblower 1982: 122-23.

[5] Bean 1979: 121; Bryce 1986: 38 n. 47, 205.

[6] However, Phaselis is not called a πόλις Ἑλληνίς ('Greek *polis*') by [Scyl.] 100.

[7] And later Hierocl. *Synecdemus* 683.1, who calls it Φασύδης.

[8] As subsequently do Pompon. 1.13; Plin. *HN* 5.26.96; Ath. 8.42 [350a].

[9] See Murray 1993: 229-30.

Phaselis became a member of the Delian League,[10] and clearly remained loyal throughout the League's history. Further light on Phaselis' relations with Athens is shed by the survival of an Athenian decree regulating juridical relations with Phaselis (*IG* i³ 10),[11] an inscription erected in Athens but paid for by the Phaseliots. This inscription dates to somewhere in the period 469-450.[12] Mutual legal arrangements (ξυμβολαί αἱ δίκαι) are instituted in this inscription; disputes between Athenians and Phaseliots were to be tried at Athens.

Phaselis paid six talents in tribute from 454/3 (*IG* i³ 259.iv.24), and then probably paid the same through to 451/0 (*IG* i³ 262.i.2).[13] In 450/49 they paid only three (*IG* i³ 263.ii.35), and presumably kept this level.[14] After 441/0 Phaselis is absent from the Lists until 432/1 (280.i.18), by which time the tribute had raised back to six talents.[15] What the significance in the reduction is remains unclear, though it might be that the Athenians were concerned that Phaselis might slip back into the Persian fold. The reason for the increase, unless provoked by the fear of war with the Peloponnesians (unlikely, since there was no general increase in tribute at this point), is equally obscure, if not more so. Phaselis is found in the tribute assessment decree of 425/4 (*IG* i³ 71.i.129), and remained in the League until at least 415/4 (*IG* i³ 290.i.17, 19).[16] On the Athenian tribute lists Phaselis was first included in the *Karikos phoros* (*IG* i³ 269.iv.9, 443/2)[17] and later in the *Ionikos phoros*, when the Carian district was incorporated within the Ionian (*IG* i³ 279.i.46, 433/2).

It may perhaps at sometime have been under Lycian political control, but there is no certain evidence.[18] It certainly appears to have been inde-

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[10] *IG* i³ 259.iv.24; 261.i.9; 262.i.2; 263.ii.35; 264.ii.31; 265.ii.21 [entirely restored]; 267.iv.14; 268.v.9 [heavy restoration]; 269.iv.9; 270.iv.10 [entirely restored]; 271.i.70; 280.i.18; 281.i.8? (*ATL* I, 444); 290.i.17.

[11] Full discussion: Fornara 1979; Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI* 31; and refs.

[12] Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI*, p. 67. Hignett 1952: 397 cannot accept a date before 462. Mattingley 1964 dates it to 425/4, but this is highly unconvincing.

[13] At *IG* i³ 261.i.9 (452/1) the stone as carved records a figure of 502 drachma given to the Treasurers of Athena, which would suggest an overall tribute payment of five talents and 1,200 drachma; *ATL* I, 12 is surely correct to read I I (2) on the stone as H (100) from which the horizontal has be omitted.

[14] The figure is only preserved for 448/7 (*IG* i³ 264.ii.31, partial), 443/2 (269.iv.9), 442/1 (270.4.10 [but whilst the figure is preserved here, the name of the Phaseliots is entirely a restoration]), and 441/0 (270.i.70).

[15] Though the figure is not fully preserved.

[16] See further Davies 1874: 783; Blackman 1978.

[17] See also Crater. F 1 *ap.* Steph. Byz. 256.13 *s.v.* Δῶρος.

[18] In my original thesis (Keen 1992b: 88-89) I attempted to explain away the discrepancy between Herodotus' and Diodorus' figures (50 and 40) for the Lycian contribution to Xerxes' fleet (p. 93) by noting a further discrepancy between the figures for the Pamphylian contingent, thirty in Herodotus and forty in Diodorus, and suggesting that Diodorus had transferred ten ships from the Lycians to the Pamphylians; I argued that this contingent would be from an area which might

pendent at the time of Kimon's campaigns, and at the time of Perikle's pursuit of Charimenes (p. 166). It did have a long-standing friendship with Chios (Plut. *Cim.* 12), and made a treaty with Mausolos of Caria in the 350s (*TAM* ii 1183.3, 4, 10), apparently as equals, which suggests that it did not pass into Hekatomnid control with the rest of Lycia.

alternatively be described as Pamphylian or Lycian, i.e. Phaselis, and hence this was evidence for Lycian control of Phaselis by this point. This was rightly described by one of my examiners as "saving the unsavable".

APPENDIX NINE

FGrH NUMBERS OF FRAGMENTARY HISTORIANS CITED

Alexander Polyhistor	*FGrH* 273
Aristaenetus	*FGrH* 771
Aristodemus	*FGrH* 104
Capiton the Lycian	*FGrH* 750
Craterus	*FGrH* 342
Ctesias	*FGrH* 688
Ephorus	*FGrH* 70
Hecataeus	*FGrH* 1
Herophytus	*FGrH* 786
Leon of Alabanda	*FGrH* 278
Menander Ephesius	*FGrH* 783
Menecrates of Xanthos	*FGrH* 769
Nicander	*FGrH* 271/2
Nicolaus of Damascus	*FGrH* 90
Phanodemus	*FGrH* 325
Polycharmus	*FGrH* 770
Theopompus	*FGrH* 115
Timachidas	*FGrH* 532
Timocritus	*FGrH* 522

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BIDBV, E.N. von Voightlander, *The Bisitun Inscription of Darius the Great: Babylonian Version* (London 1978).
CAH, *The Cambridge Ancient History* (Cambridge 1923-).
CTH, E. Laroche, *Catalogue des textes hittites* (Paris 1971).
FdX, *Fouilles de Xanthos* (Paris 1958-).
FGrH, F. Jacoby, *Fragmente de griechischen Historiker* (Leiden 1923-).
GHHIL, *Götter, Heroen, Herrscher in Lykien* (Vienna 1990).
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KUB, *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi*.
M, O. Mørkholm, G. Neumann, *Die lykische Münzlegenden* (Göttingen 1978).
MVAG, *Mitteilungen der vorderasiatisch-aegyptischen Gesellschaft*.
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RS, Mission de Ras Shamra.
SIMA, *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology*.
TAVO, *Tübinger Atlas der vorderen Orients*.
TrGF, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* (Göttingen 1971-).

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[1] Abbreviations of journals are those of *L'année philologique*.

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